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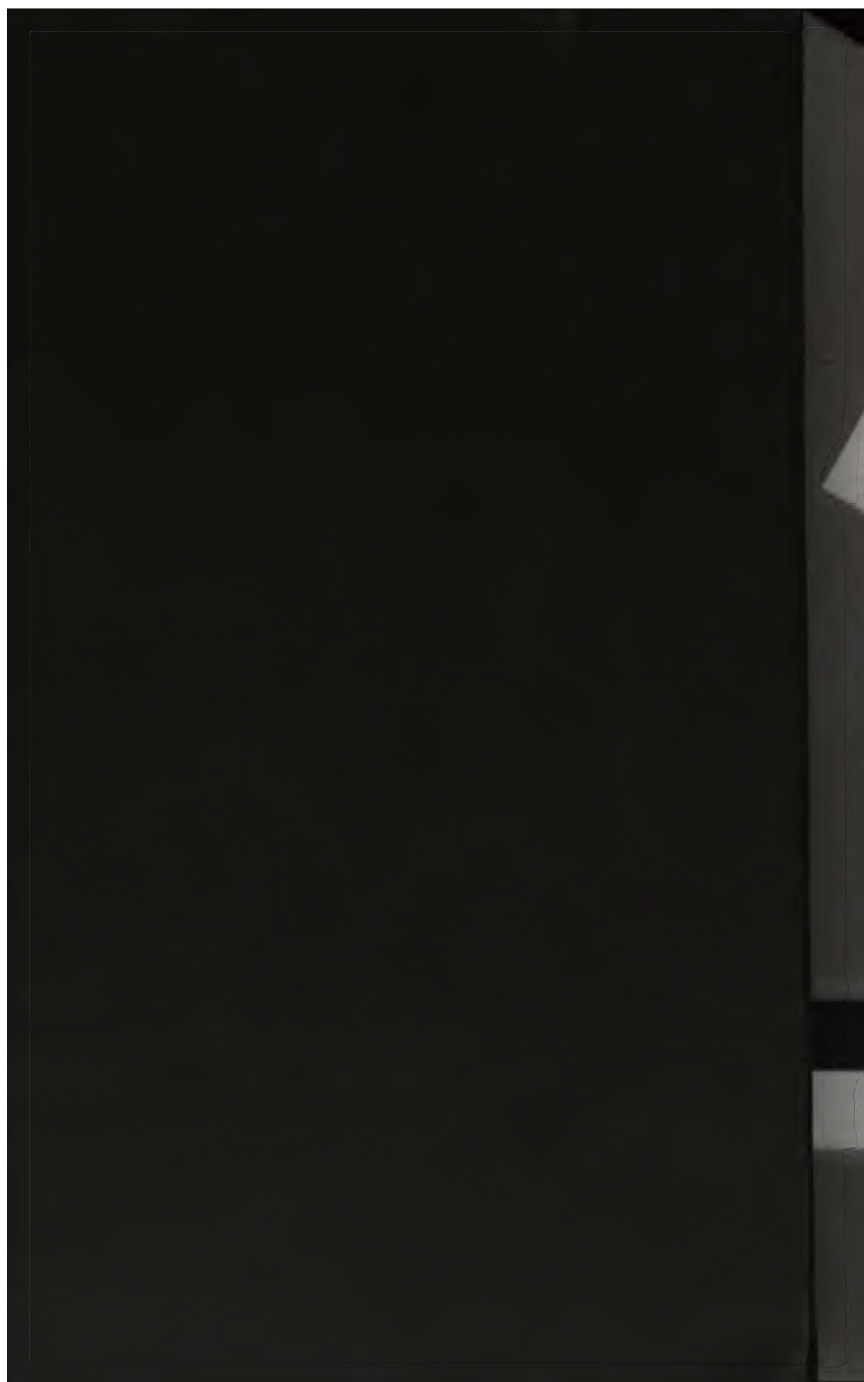
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ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΟΥΣ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ

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DEMOSTHENES  
ON THE CROWN

EDITED BY

WILLIAM WATSON GOODWIN

HON. LL.D. AND D.C.L.

ELIOT PROFESSOR OF GREEK LITERATURE (EMERITUS)  
IN HARVARD UNIVERSITY

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ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΟΥΣ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ

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New York

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

LONDON: MACMILLAN & CO., LTD.

1904

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Set up, electrotyped, and published January, 1904.

Norwood Press  
J. S. Cushing & Co. — Berwick & Smith Co.  
Norwood, Mass., U.S.A.

✓CONS. 186 - P.D.

TO  
HENRY JACKSON  
IN TOKEN OF  
A FRIENDSHIP OF MORE THAN THIRTY YEARS



## PREFACE

THIS volume is chiefly an abridgment of the large edition of Demosthenes on the Crown which was prepared by me for the Syndics of the University Press and published in 1901. The critical notes are omitted, and such remarks on the text as seemed necessary are introduced in the explanatory notes. The notes, the Historic Sketch, and especially the Essays, have been abridged, while some more elementary matter has been added in the notes. I have attempted to give what I deem most essential to an understanding of this masterpiece of oratory. No mere commentary can make a speech like this intelligible to those who have not an accurate knowledge of the events which are discussed, and of their relation to other events. No adequate treatment of historical points is possible in scattered notes, and references to a general history (even to Grote or Curtius) are not sufficient. The student of Demosthenes needs a connected narrative of the events which especially concern him, with references to the authorities, without being distracted by other details in which he has no immediate interest. To meet this want, I have given an "Historical Sketch" of the period from the accession of Philip to the battle of Chaeronea, in which I have enlarged disproportionately on the events and questions discussed in the orations of Demosthenes and Aeschines on the Crown, and have alluded slightly (or perhaps not at all) to many important matters which are not essential to the study of these speeches. This would be unpardonable in a history: but this sketch assumes a general knowledge of the history of the period which it covers, and makes no pretence to being such a history

in itself. With this view, I have given what may seem undue prominence to the negotiations which led to the Peace of Philocrates; for a minute knowledge of these is absolutely necessary to a correct understanding of the brief but cogent argument of Demosthenes in Cor. §§ 17—52, and to a fair judgment of the whole political course of both Demosthenes and Aeschines at this decisive crisis in the history of Athens. Much new light has been thrown upon the period which I have treated from inscriptions recently discovered by the French explorers at Delphi and from the *Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum*. In preparing this sketch I have made constant use of Grote and of Schaefer's *Demosthenes und Seine Zeit*.

In revising the text I have in most cases followed the authority of the Codex  $\Sigma$ , especially when it is supported by its companion L<sup>1</sup>. See Essay vii. In preparing the commentary I have been constantly aided by the long line of editors, whose names are too familiar to need mention. I must, however, express my great obligation to Westermann and Blass, especially for references to parallel passages and for other illustrations. I have found it impossible to give credit for every remark and reference which may be borrowed from these or other recent editors: many of these are found in the notes of Dissen and the older editors, and many have long been in my own collection of notes. Nothing is harder to trace than old references, and most of those relating to Demosthenes on the Crown may now be assumed to be common property.

I take great pleasure in expressing (not for the first time) my deep indebtedness to Dr Henry Jackson of Trinity College, Cambridge, who did me the inestimable service of reading and revising the proofs of the large edition. There are few pages in that volume which have not had the benefit of his criticism.

For the picture of the Scythian bowman in page 280 I am indebted to the kindness of my former pupil, Miss Florence A. Gragg, who photographed the figure in the Museum at Athens.

I have avoided many discussions of grammatical points in the notes by references to my *Syntax of the Greek Moods and Tenses* (M.T.), and I have occasionally referred to my *Greek Grammar* (G.). The references to Grote IX.—XII. are made to the first edition; those to earlier volumes to the second edition.

I have made no attempt to be neutral on the question of the patriotism and the statesmanship of Demosthenes in his policy of uncompromising resistance to Philip. It seems to me that the time for such neutrality is past. I cannot conceive how any one who knows and respects the traditions of Athens, and all that she represents in the long contest of free institutions against tyranny, can read the final attack of Aeschines and the reply of Demosthenes without feeling that Demosthenes always stands forth as a true patriot and statesman, who has the best interests of his country at heart and upholds her noblest traditions, while Aeschines appears first as a trimmer and later as an intentional (if not a corrupt) ally of Philip in his contest with Athens. That the policy of resistance to Philip's aggressions failed at last is no discredit to the patriotism or the statesmanship of Demosthenes. Can any one, even at this day, read the pathetic and eloquent appeal of Demosthenes to posterity in Cor. §§ 199—208, and not feel that Athens would have been unworthy of her glorious past if she had submitted to Philip without a struggle for liberty, even if Chaeronea and all its consequences had been seen by her in advance? Her course was plain: that of Demosthenes was even plainer.

W. W. GOODWIN.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY,  
CAMBRIDGE, MASS.,  
November 6, 1903.



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# ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΟΥΣ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ

ΠΡΩΤΟΝ μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῖς θεοῖς

Reiske  
page  
226 εὐχομαι πᾶσι καὶ πάσαις, ὅσων εὐνοίαν ἔχων ἐγὼ  
διατελῶ τῇ τε πόλει καὶ πᾶσιν ὑμῖν, τοσαύτην ὑπάρ-  
ξαι μοι παρ' ὑμῶν εἰς τουτοῦ τὸν ἀγῶνα, ἔπειθ'

PROOEMIUM: §§ 1—8. The solemn earnestness with which Demosthenes undertook this vindication of his whole political life is shown by the unusual and impressive prayer with which he begins, and still more by its repetition. He shows the same spirit in the appeal to the Gods in § 141, with which he introduces his account of the fatal events which led to Chaeronea, and in his peroration (§ 324).

§ 1. 1. τοῖς θεοῖς πᾶσι καὶ πάσαις, to all the Gods and Goddesses. *Theos* is Goddess as well as God, *θεά* being poetic; thus *ἡ θεός* is the common title of Athena. A slight extension of the solemn formula πᾶσι καὶ πάσαις becomes absurdly comic in *Ar. Av.* 866 εἴχεσθε δρυσὶν Ὀλυμπίοις καὶ Ὀλυμπίησι πᾶσι καὶ πάσαις.

2. εὐνοίαν: *eunoia* may mean devotion based on any superiority or merit, including loyalty of a subject to a prince or of a servant to his master (even of a dog to his mistress), devotion to a benefactor, and even enthusiasm for the success of a contestant in the games (though felt by a stranger). Here it means a good citizen's loyal devotion to the state.

See Jackson's note on *eunoia* in *Trans. of Cambr. Philol. Soc.* 11. p. 115, where he explains the word in *Arist. Pol.* 1. 6 (1255<sup>a</sup>, 17) as "loyalty, i.e. the willing obedience which an inferior renders to a kind and considerate superior." He refers especially to *Arist. Eth.* ix. 5, §§ 3, 4 (1167<sup>a</sup>, 18), ὅλως δ' εὐνοία δι' ἀρετὴν καὶ ἐπιεικειάν τινα γίνεται, ὅταν τῷ φανῇ καλὸς τις ἢ ἀνδρείος ἢ τι τοιοῦτον. —ἔχων διατελῶ: ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀεὶ ἔχω, Ἀττικῶς. *Schol.* (See *M.T.* 879.) The words ἔχων διατελεῖ with *eunoia* probably occurred in Ctesiphon's decree. *Aeschines* (III. 49) quotes from the decree ὅτι διατελεῖ καὶ λέγων καὶ πράττων: see the spurious indictment (below) § 54<sup>10</sup>, and § 57<sup>2-8</sup>.

3. ὑπάρξαι μοι, be granted me (he made available to me). The fundamental idea of *ὑπάρχω* in this sense is best seen in τὰ ὑπάρχοντα, the resources or the existing conditions, i.e. what is available, what one has to depend on: see note on *ὑπάρχειν* § 95<sup>6</sup>, and *βέλτιστον ὑπάρχει*, ix. 5.

4. ἀγῶνα: see note on ἀγωνίζομαι, § 3<sup>1</sup>. —ἔπειθ', secondly: simple *ἔπειτα* (without *δέ*) is the regular rhetorical

ὅπερ ἐστὶ μάλισθ' ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας 5  
 εὐσεβείας τε καὶ δόξης, τοῦτο παραστήσαι τοὺς  
 θεοὺς ὑμῖν, μὴ τὸν ἀντίδικον σύμβουλον ποιήσασθαι  
 περὶ τοῦ πῶς ἀκούειν ὑμᾶς ἐμοῦ δεῖ (σχέτλιον γὰρ  
 ἂν εἶη τοῦτό γε), ἀλλὰ τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὸν ὄρκον, ἐν 2  
 ᾧ πρὸς ἅπασιν τοῖς ἄλλοις δικαίοις καὶ τοῦτο γέγρα-  
 πται, τὸ ὁμοίως ἀμφοῖν ἀκροάσασθαι. τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν  
 οὐ μόνον τὸ μὴ προκατεγνώκῃαι μηδὲν οὐδὲ τὸ τὴν  
 εὖνοιαν ἴσῃ ἀποδοῦναι, ἀλλὰ τὸ καὶ τῇ τάξει καὶ τῇ 5  
 ἀπολογία, ὡς βεβούληται καὶ προήρηται τῶν ἀγωνι-  
 ζομένων ἕκαστος, οὕτως ἔᾶσαι χρήσασθαι.

formula after πρῶτον μὲν (see §§ 8, 18, 177, 235, 248: cf. 267). Thucydides generally has this, but often *ἔπειτα δέ*.

5. *ὅπερ ἐστὶ*: sc. *εὔχομαι*, referring to the whole sentence *ὅπερ... ἀκροάσασθαι*. The relation of *ὅπερ* to τοῦτο here is clearly that of 8 τι (§ 8<sup>a</sup>) to the following τοῦτο.—*ἐστὶ μάλισθ' ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν*, concerns you especially (more than myself).

6. *εὐσεβείας*: referring to the oath (§ 2). Greek *εὐσέβεια* reached a lower level than our *piety*, including negative abstinence from impiety, so that one who does not break his oath is so far *eusebeis*.—*τοῦτο παραστήσαι ὑμῖν*, may put this into your hearts: τοῦτο refers back emphatically to the omitted antecedent of *ὅπερ*, as οὕτως (§ 2<sup>7</sup>) to that of *ὡς*, and is explained by *μὴ τὸν ἀντίδικον κ.τ.λ.*

8. *τοῦ πῶς...δεῖ*: explained by τὸ καὶ...χρήσασθαι (end of § 2): cf. *περὶ τοῦ θνητα τρόπον χρῆς ξῆν*, Plat. Rep. 352 D.

§ 2. 1. *τὸν ὄρκον*: the Heliastic oath, which each judge had sworn. The document in XXIV. 149—151 purporting to be this famous oath (hardly authentic) has this clause: *καὶ ἀκροάσασθαι τοῦ κατηγοροῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀπολογουμένου ὁμοίως ἀμφοῖν*. For the

connection of the laws with the oath, see note on § 6<sup>a</sup>.

2. *δικαίοις*, just provisions.

3. *ἀκροάσασθαι*: this (Σ) or *ἀκροᾶσθαι* (L) is far preferable to the emendation *ἀκροᾶσσεσθαι*, the fut. infin. being exceptional with τὸ. The infin. with τὸ here denotes simply the provision for hearing both sides impartially and is not in oratio obliqua (M.T. 96, 111).

4. *τὸ μὴ προκατεγνώκῃαι*: not having decided against (κατά) either party in advance, the perf. expressing completion (M.T. 109): τὸ μὴ προκαταγνῶναι would be timeless, like τὸ ἀκροάσασθαι (above) and τὸ ἀποδοῦναι and τὸ ἔᾶσαι (below).—*οὐδὲ* (sc. *μόνον*), nor only (cf. § 93<sup>1,2</sup>).

5. *ἴσῃ* (pred.), in equal measure.—*καὶ τῇ τάξει...χρήσασθαι*, i.e. to allow everyone to adopt not only (καὶ) that order of argument but also (καὶ) that general plan of defence which etc.

6. *ἀπολογία* refers strictly to the defence, which alone remained.—*ὡς...ἕκαστος*: *ἕκαστος* is made subject of the relative clause, as this precedes; we reverse the order, and translate it with *χρήσασθαι*.—*τῶν ἀγωνιζομένων ἕκαστος* (not *ἐκάτερος*), acc. to Weil, is "tout homme qui plaide sa

Πολλὰ μὲν οὖν ἔγωγ' ἐλαττοῦμαι κατὰ τουτονὶ 3  
 τὸν ἀγῶνα Αἰσχίνου, δύο δ', ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ  
 μεγάλα, ἐν μὲν ὅτι οὐ περὶ τῶν ἴσων ἀγωνίζομαι· οὐ  
 γάρ ἐστιν ἴσον νῦν ἐμοὶ τῆς παρ' ὑμῶν εὐνοίας δια-  
 μαρτεῖν καὶ τούτῳ μὴ ἐλείν τὴν γραφὴν, ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ 5  
 μὲν—οὐ βούλομαι δυσχερὲς εἰπεῖν οὐδὲν ἀρχόμενος  
 τοῦ λόγου, οὗτος δ' ἐκ περιουσίας μου κατηγορεῖ.  
 ἕτερον δ', ὃ φύσει πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ὑπάρχει, τῶν μὲν  
 λοιδοριῶν καὶ τῶν κατηγοριῶν ἀκούειν ἡδέως, τοῖς  
 ἐπαινοῦσι δ' αὐτοὺς ἄχθεσθαι· τούτων τοίνυν ὃ μὲν 4  
 ἐστὶ πρὸς ἡδονὴν τούτῳ δέδοται, ὃ δὲ πᾶσιν ὡς ἔπος  
 εἰπεῖν ἐνοχλεῖ λοιπὸν ἐμοί. κἂν μὲν εὐλαβούμενος

cause," a general expression. He remarks that ἀγωνίζομαι applies especially to the defendant.

This is a dignified appeal against the offensive demand of Aeschines (III. 202), that the court should either refuse to hear Demosthenes or (at least) compel him to follow his adversary's order of argument. Both parties could not be heard impartially if one were compelled by the court itself to present his case in the most damaging order at his opponent's dictation.

§ 3. 1. πολλὰ: sc. ἐλαττώματα.

2. καὶ μεγάλα, even serious.

3. ἀγωνίζομαι, like ἀγών, used of contests of all kinds, here of a lawsuit. See the pun on the two meanings of ἀγωνίσασθαι περὶ θανάτου in IV. 47.

4. διαμαρτεῖν, to forfeit: cf. ἀποστερεῖσθαι, § 54, and the following words.

5. μὴ ἐλείν τὴν γραφὴν, not to gain his case: cf. Ὀλύμπια νικᾶν, Thuc. I. 26; ψήφισμα νικᾶ, Aesch. III. 68; πολλὰς...γραφὰς διώξας οὐδεῖλεν, Ant. 2, A<sup>a</sup>, 5. A victorious defendant is said γράφην (δικήν) ἀποφυγεῖν, a defeated defendant γρά-

φήν (δικήν) ὀφλεῖν.—ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ μὲν: a familiar ἀποσιώπησις, often quoted by the rhetoricians. What is plainly meant would sound unpleasant (δυσχερὲς) and suggest disaster in the opening of his speech. See Quint. IX. 2, 54, who quotes "quos ego—sed motos praestat componere fluctus," Aen. I. 135.

7. ἐκ περιουσίας, at an advantage, lit. from an abundance, like a rich man who stakes little compared with his wealth. In Luke xxi. 4, the rich cast into the treasury "of their abundance" or "superfluity," ἐκ τοῦ περισσεύοντος αὐτοῖς.

8. ἕτερον δ' (sc. ἐλάττωμα) corresponds to ἐν μὲν in 3, and keeps up the construction of πολλὰ ἐλαττοῦμαι in 1.—δ...ὑπάρχει, which is a natural disposition of the whole human race: πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις suggests the subject of ἀκούειν and ἀχθεσθαι, which explain ἕτερον.

§ 4. 2. ἐστὶ πρὸς ἡδονὴν, makes for pleasure (ἐστὶν ἡδύ, Schol.): cf. Aeschyl. Pr. 494, ἀν εἴη δαίμοσιν πρὸς ἡδονήν.—ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν modifies πᾶσιν. Aeschines (III. 241) had warned the court against the self-glorification of Demosthenes.

τοῦτο μὴ λέγω τὰ πεπραγμέν' ἐμαυτῷ, οὐκ ἔχειν  
 ἀπολύσασθαι τὰ κατηγορημένα δόξω οὐδ' ἐφ' οἷς 5  
 ἄξιῳ τιμᾶσθαι δεικνύναι· ἐὰν δ' ἐφ' ἃ καὶ πεποιήκα  
 καὶ πεπολίτευμαι βαδίζω, πολλάκις λέγειν ἀναγκα-  
 227 σθήσομαι περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ. πειράσομαι μὲν οὖν ὥς  
 μετριώτατα τοῦτο ποιεῖν· ὅ τι δ' ἂν τὸ πρᾶγμ' αὐτὸ  
 ἀναγκάζῃ, τούτου τὴν αἰτίαν οὗτός ἐστι δίκαιος ἔχειν 10  
 ὁ τοιοῦτον ἀγῶν' ἐνστησάμενος.

Οἶμαι δ' ὑμᾶς πάντας, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἂν 5  
 ὁμολογήσαι κοινὸν εἶναι τουτοῦ τὸν ἀγῶν' ἐμοὶ καὶ  
 Κτησιφῶντι καὶ οὐδὲν ἐλάττονος ἄξιον σπουδῆς ἐμοί·  
 πάντων μὲν γὰρ ἀποστερεῖσθαι λυπηρόν ἐστι καὶ  
 χαλεπὸν, ἄλλως τε καὶ ὑπ' ἐχθροῦ τῷ τοῦτο συμ- 5  
 βαίνειν, μάλιστα δὲ τῆς παρ' ὑμῶν εὐνοίας καὶ φιλαν-  
 θρωπίας, ὅσῳ περ καὶ τὸ τυχεῖν τούτων μέγιστόν

5. ἀπολύσασθαι: see § 50<sup>b</sup>.

6. καὶ πεποιήκα καὶ πεπολίτευ-  
 μαι: a familiar form of rhetorical  
 amplification (opposed to modern  
 ideas of style), for which ordinary  
 speech would use πεπολίτευμαι alone.  
 Other instances are βεβούληται καὶ  
 προήρηται (§ 2<sup>a</sup>), πεπραγμένων καὶ πε-  
 πολιτευμένων ἀπὸ κατεψεύδου καὶ  
 διέβαλλες (§ 11<sup>b-7</sup>), ἐτραγώδει καὶ  
 διεξήκει (§ 13<sup>a</sup>), διέβαλλε καὶ διεξήκει  
 (§ 14<sup>2</sup>), ἐδίδαξας καὶ διεξήλθες (§ 22<sup>10</sup>),  
 πολεμῖν καὶ διαφέρειν (§ 31<sup>1</sup>). In  
 these cases one verb is generic and  
 the other specific; but sometimes two  
 verbs of nearly or quite the same  
 meaning are used together for a simi-  
 lar rhetorical effect, as πράττειν καὶ  
 ποιεῖν (§ 62<sup>4</sup>), ζώντων καὶ νεκρῶν (§ 72<sup>3</sup>).

7. βαδίζω, proceed, more formal  
 than come or go.

8. ὥς μετριώτατα: cf. the full form  
 ὥς ἂν δύνωμαι μετριώτατα, § 256<sup>3</sup>.

9. ὅ τι...ἀναγκάζῃ, whatever the  
 case itself may require of me (lit. com-  
 pel me): with ἀναγκάζω without an

infin. cf. Quint. XI. 1, 22, qui hoc se  
 coegisset.

10. δίκαιος ἔχειν: the common  
 personal construction (M.T. 762).  
 The apodosis is future in sense, after  
 the future ὅ τι ἂν ἀναγκάζῃ.

11. τοιοῦτον ἀγῶν', a suit like  
 this, i.e. in which Ctesiphon is in-  
 dicted and Demosthenes accused: cf.  
 §§ 12—16.

§ 5. 1. ἂν ὁμολογήσαι (so Σ  
 and L): ἂν after a comma is allowed  
 when words belonging to the same  
 clause precede, as here ὑμᾶς πάντας  
 (M.T. 222).

3. οὐδὲν ἐλάττονος, quite as great.

4. πάντων ἀποστερεῖσθαι, to be  
 deprived of anything: cf. πανταχοῦ,  
 anywhere, § 81<sup>b</sup>.

7. ὅσῳ περ, (by so much) as: the  
 implied τοσούτῳ is felt as limiting  
 μάλιστα (sc. λυπηρόν καὶ χαλεπόν).—  
 καὶ before τὸ τυχεῖν expr. = the  
 parallelism (so to speak) betw. <sup>1</sup>  
 losing and gaining the privileges:  
 see ἃ καὶ διεκωλύθη, § 60<sup>4</sup>, and note.

ἐστιν. περὶ τούτων δ' ὄντος τουτουὶ τοῦ ἀγῶνος, 6  
 ἀξιῶ καὶ δέομαι πάντων ὁμοίως ὑμῶν ἀκοῦσαί μου  
 περὶ τῶν κατηγορημένων ἀπολογουμένου δικαίως,  
 ὥσπερ οἱ νόμοι κελεύουσιν, οὓς ὁ τιθεὶς ἐξ ἀρχῆς  
 Σόλων, εὖνους ὧν ὑμῖν καὶ δημοτικούς, οὐ μόνον τῷ 5  
 γράψαι κυρίους ᾤετο δεῖν εἶναι ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ τοὺς  
 δικάζοντας ὁμωμοκέναι, οὐκ ἀπιστῶν ὑμῖν, ὥς γ' ἐμοὶ 7  
 φαίνεται, ἀλλ' ὁρῶν ὅτι τὰς αἰτίας καὶ τὰς διαβολὰς,  
 αἷς ἐκ τοῦ πρότερος λέγειν ὁ διώκων ἰσχύει, οὐκ ἐνι  
 τῷ φεύγοντι παρελθεῖν, εἰ μὴ τῶν δικαζόντων ἕκαστος  
 ὑμῶν τὴν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσέβειαν φυλάττων καὶ 5  
 τὰ τοῦ λέγοντος ὑστέρου δίκαι' εὐνοϊκῶς προσδέξεται,

Such a καὶ can seldom be expressed in English, except by emphasis.

§ 6. 2. ἀξιῶ καὶ δέομαι: see note on § 4<sup>o</sup>.

3. δικαίως belongs to ἀκοῦσα', from which it is separated partly for emphasis, and partly to bring it directly before ὥσπερ. It cannot be taken with ἀπολογουμένου, as the laws (§ 2<sup>o</sup>) have no reference to ἀπολογία, but require the judges to hear both sides impartially.

4. ὁ τιθεὶς ἐξ ἀρχῆς, i.e. the original maker: ὁ νόμον τιθεὶς is used like νομοθέτης, for the lawgiver, whose title is perpetual.

5. δημοτικός, a friend of the people or of popular government: see Ar. Nub. 1187, ὁ Σόλων ὁ παλαιὸς ἦν φιλόδημος τὴν φύσιν.—οὐ μόνον... ὁμωμοκέναι: i.e. Solon thought that these provisions for an impartial hearing should have not merely the ordinary sanction which all laws have by enactment (τῷ γράψαι), but the further security which they gained by the judges swearing to uphold them. This double sanction was secured by enacting that these provisions of law should be a part of the Heliastic oath. γράφω, besides mean-

ing to propose a law or decree, often refers to the enactment as a whole, as here.

§ 7. 2. τὰς αἰτίας καὶ τὰς διαβολὰς, here used like λοιδορία τε καὶ αἰτία in XXII. 21, 22. There αἰτία is thus defined, as opposed to ἔλεγχος: αἰτία μὲν γάρ ἐστιν ὅταν τις ψιλῷ χρησάμενος λόγῳ μὴ παράσχηται πλῆριν ὧν λέγει, ἔλεγχος δὲ ὅταν ὧν ἀνέλπη τις καὶ τάληθές ὁμοῦ δείξῃ. Commonly, αἰτία refers to an accusation, whether true or false: cf. § 12<sup>7</sup> (εἴπερ ἦσαν ἀληθεῖς). See Shilleto on Thuc. I. 23 and 69.

3. τοῦ πρότερος λέγειν: in public suits (γραφαί) in the Heliastic courts, each side spoke once (though the time might be divided among several speakers), the plaintiff first; in private suits (δίκαι), and in the Areopagus, each side was allowed a second argument.

4. παρελθεῖν, to escape (get by): ὡς ἐπὶ δρουέων. Schol.

6. τοῦ λέγοντος ὑστέρου, the second (later) speaker, i.e. the defendant (τοῦ φεύγοντος): see Ar. Vesp. 15, σὺ λέξον πρότερος, Dem. I. 16, τοὺς ὑστάτους... εἰπόντας.—δίκαι', pleadings, the statement of his rights: cf. § 9<sup>o</sup> (see West.).

καὶ παρασχὼν ἑαυτὸν ἴσον καὶ κοινὸν ἀμφοτέροις ἀκροατὴν οὕτω τὴν διάγνωσιν ποιήσεται περὶ πάντων.

Μέλλων δὲ τοῦ τε ἰδίου βίου παντὸς, ὡς ἔοικε, 8  
λόγον διδόναι τήμερον καὶ τῶν κοινῇ πεπολιτευμένων,  
βούλομαι πάλιν τοὺς θεοὺς παρακαλέσαι, καὶ ἐναν-  
τίον ὑμῶν εὔχομαι πρῶτον μὲν, ὅσῃν εὖνοιαν ἔχων  
228 ἐγὼ διατελῶ τῇ πόλει καὶ πᾶσιν ὑμῖν, τοσαύτην 5  
ὑπάρξει μοι εἰς τουτοῦ τὸν ἀγῶνα, ἔπειθ' ὃ τι  
μέλλει συνοίσειν καὶ πρὸς εὐδοξίαν κοινῇ καὶ πρὸς  
εὐσέβειαν ἐκάστω, τοῦτο παραστήσαι πᾶσιν ὑμῖν  
περὶ ταυτησὶ τῆς γραφῆς γνῶναι.

Εἰ μὲν οὖν περὶ ᾧ ἐδίωκε μόνον κατηγορήσεν 9  
Αἰσχίνης, καὶ γὰρ περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ προβουλεύματος  
εὐθὺς ἂν ἀπελογούμην· ἐπειδὴ δ' οὐκ ἐλάττω λόγον

—προσδέξεται, *shall receive kindly, take under his protection.*

7. κοινόν: *impartial.*

8. οὕτω repeats with emphasis the idea of παρασχὼν...ἀκροατὴν.—διά-  
γνωσιν, *decision* (between two sides).

§ 8. 2. λόγον διδόναι, *to render an account*, used often of the formal accounts which all officers of state

rendered at the εὐθυναί: see Aesch. III. 11, 12, and cf. § 62<sup>5</sup> (below), λέγον...λαβεῖν.

6. ὃ τι...ἐκάστω: see note on 8περ...δόξης, § 1<sup>6</sup>.

8. παραστήσαι: sc. τοὺς θεοὺς (subj.), as in § 1<sup>6</sup>.—τοῦτο γνῶναι, *to give that judgment.*

In §§ 9—52 the orator replies to charges which are foreign to the indictment (ἔξω τῆς γραφῆς). We have (1) an introduction in § 9; then (2) he speaks of his private life in §§ 10, 11; then (3) of his public policy in §§ 12—52.

Under (3) we have an introduction (§§ 12—16), and the defence of his policy concerning the Peace of Philocrates (§§ 17—52). The last contains an introduction (§ 17), the narration (§§ 18—49, and the conclusion (§§ 50—52).

§ 9. 1. εἰ...κατηγορήσεν, i.e. *if*

*he had confined his accusation* (in his speech) *to the charges in his indictment* (γραφῆ): see the same distinction between κατηγορεῖ and κρίνει in § 15<sup>5,6</sup>.

2. προβουλεύματος: the strict name of a bill which had passed only the Senate, though the less exact ψήφισμα was often applied to it: see § 56<sup>1</sup>.

3. εὐθὺς ἂν ἀπελογούμην, *I should at once proceed* (lit. *be now proceeding*) *to my defence*, etc. Cf. § 34<sup>4</sup>.—οὐκ ἐλάττω, *quite as much* (as in his proper accusation).

Τὰ μὲν οὖν κατηγορημένα πολλὰ, καὶ περὶ ὧν 12  
 ἐνίων μεγάλας καὶ τὰς ἐσχάτας οἱ νόμοι διδῶσι  
 τιμωρίας· τοῦ δὲ παρόντος ἀγώνος ἡ προαίρεσις  
 αὐτῇ· ἐχθροῦ μὲν ἐπήρειαν ἔχει καὶ ὕβριν καὶ λοιδο-  
 ρίαν καὶ προπηλακισμόν ὁμοῦ καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα· 5  
 τῶν μέντοι κατηγοριῶν καὶ τῶν αἰτιῶν τῶν εἰρημένων,  
 εἴπερ ἦσαν ἀληθεῖς, οὐκ ἔνι τῇ πόλει δίκην ἀξίαν  
 λαβεῖν, οὐδ' ἐγγύς. οὐ γὰρ ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τὸ προσελ- 13

§ 12. 1. περὶ ὧν ἐνίων, *about which in some cases: ἐνίων qualifies* (West.). Cf. XXVII. 23, καὶ ὅσα  
 να.

3. ἡ προαίρεσις αὐτῇ· αὐτῇ (so) is much more expressive than αὐτῇ with no stop), pointing vividly to the following statement of the true purpose of Aeschines. It also gives τῶν ἐντοι κατηγοριῶν κ.τ.λ. (6) its proper relation to ἐχθροῦ μὲν. The Schol. enlarges this passage with ἀσάφεια ὁλλή. The thought is as follows:—he charges include some of the gravest known to the law, which provides the severest penalties for these offences; but this suit was never thought to punish anybody for these.

will tell you what its object is (αὐτῇ): it is to give a personal enemy an opportunity to vent his spite and malice, while it gives the state no means properly punishing my crimes if I am guilty. The first clause, τὰ μὲν... μωρίας (1—3), states the gravity of the actual charges, and is opposed to the following τοῦ δὲ... αὐτῇ. The latter introduces the double construction, (α) ἐχθροῦ μὲν... τοιαῦτα and (β) τῶν ἐντοι... οὐδ' ἐγγύς, in which the motive of Aeschines and the inadequacy of this suit to deal with the alleged crimes are declared. The last two clauses are confirmed, (α) by οὐ γὰρ... καὶ οὐκ ἐστίν (§ 13<sup>1-4</sup>), (β) by ἀλλ' ἐφ'... γραφόμενον (§ 13<sup>5-11</sup>). Finally, γὰρ δὴ πού... ἐγράφατο (§ 13<sup>11-13</sup>)

shows that Aeschines, by his present action, virtually admits that the course just pointed out (ἐφ' οὗ... γραφόμενον) is the only consistent one.

4. ἐπήρειαν, *malice* (cf. § 13<sup>2</sup>): see ἐπηρέαζω, *maliciously insult*, §§ 138<sup>4</sup>, 320<sup>6</sup>.—ἔχει, *involves, contains*.

7. εἴπερ ἦσαν ἀληθεῖς, *si verae erant* (not *essent*), a simple supposition, with nothing implied as to its truth: there is no need of reading οὐκ ἐνὶν in the apodosis.—οὐκ ἐνι, *it is not possible, i.e. by this suit*.

8. οὐδ' ἐγγύς (sc. ἀξίαν), *nor anything like it*.

§ 13. Here the orator gives the most striking proof of his adversary's malicious purpose (ἐπήρειαν), viz. his bringing a form of suit by which he hoped to deprive Demosth. of the power to defend himself (λόγου τυχεῖν). It must be remembered that Aesch. had not merely prosecuted Ctesiphon instead of Demosth., but had also (III. 200—202) besought the judges most earnestly not to allow Demosth. to speak as Ctesiphon's advocate.

1. οὐ γὰρ ἀφαιρεῖσθαι κ.τ.λ.: in Σ δέι is crowded into the line by a later hand after ἀφαιρεῖσθαι. If we omit δέι, ἀφαιρεῖσθαι and τοῦτο ποιεῖν with their adjuncts are subjects of οὔτε... ἔχον οὔτε πολιτικὸν οὔτε δίκαιον ἐστίν, the negation of οὐ and οὐδ' being thrice repeated in οὔτε. As we naturally omit οὐ in translation (that

θεῖν τῷ δήμῳ καὶ λόγου τυχεῖν—οὐδ' ἐν ἐπηρείας  
τάξει καὶ φθόνου τοῦτο ποιεῖν—οὔτε μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς  
ὀρθῶς ἔχον οὔτε πολιτικὸν οὔτε δίκαιόν ἐστιν, ὧ  
ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι· ἀλλ' ἐφ' οἷς ἀδικοῦντά μ' ἑώρα 5  
τὴν πόλιν, οὐσί γε τηλικούτοις ἡλίκᾳ νῦν ἐτραγῶδει  
καὶ διεξήει, ταῖς ἐκ τῶν νόμων τιμωρίαις παρ' αὐτὰ  
τάδικήματα χρῆσθαι, εἰ μὲν εἰσαγγελίας ἄξια πράτ-  
τουθ' ἑώρα, εἰσαγγέλλοντα καὶ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον εἰς  
κρίσιν καθιστάντα παρ' ὑμῖν, εἰ δὲ γράφοντα παρά- 10  
νομα, παρανόμων γραφόμενον· οὐ γὰρ δήπου Κτησι-

we may translate οὔτε), we can give the emphatic οὐδ' (2) the force of *still more* (*dazu*, Bl.), and translate, *for to try to take away my right to come before the people and be heard—still more to do this by way of malice and spite—is neither right nor patriotic* (see note on 4) *nor just*. ἀφαιρεῖσθαι is conative (cf. § 207<sup>b</sup>). For ἀφαιρεῖσθαι as subject (where we might expect τὸ ἀφαιρεῖσθαι, were it not for the following τὸ προσελθεῖν), see Thuc. III. 38, ἀμύνασθαι δέ, τῷ παθεῖν ὅτι ἐγγυτάτω κείμενον, ἀντίπαλον ὃν μάλιστα τὴν τιμωρίαν ἀναλαμβάνει.—τὸ προσελθεῖν... τυχεῖν here is the right of every accused citizen to be heard before the popular court, which is here called δῆμος, as it is often addressed ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι.

2. ἐν ἐπηρείας τάξει, *by way of* (venting) *malice*: cf. § 63<sup>b</sup>, ἐν τῇ... τάξει, and XX. 81, ἐν ἐχθροῦ μέρει. So III. 31.

3. οὔτε...οὔτε...οὔτε after οὐ: see Eur. frag. 322 (N.), οὐκ ἔστιν οὔτε τειχος οὔτε χρήματα οὐτ' ἄλλο δυσφύλακτον οὐδὲν ὥς γυνή.

4. ὀρθῶς ἔχον: stronger than ὀρθόν.—πολιτικόν, properly *belonging to the state* (see § 246<sup>1</sup>), here *due to the state* from a citizen: cf. X. 74, οὐκ ἴσως οὐδὲ πολιτικῶς. Such conduct, it is meant, is *not fair to the state*.

In IX. 48, πολιτικῶς refers to the simple old-fashioned Spartan style of warfare.

5. ἐφ' οἷς...ἑώρα: a condensed form for ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀδικήμασιν ἃ ἀδικοῦντά με ἑώρα.

6. οὔσι τηλικούτοις (=εἰ ἦν τηλικαῦτα), *supposing them to have been so great*. ἐτραγῶδει καὶ διεξήει (see note on § 4<sup>b</sup>), *set forth in his tragic style* (i.e. *romantically*), referring to the theatrical days of Aeschines, like ὑποκρίνεται, § 15<sup>b</sup>. Cf. XIX. 189, ταῦτα τραγῶδει.

8. χρῆσθαι (sc. δίκαιον ἦν, supplied from δίκαιόν ἐστιν in l. 4), *he ought to have employed*.

9. εἰσαγγέλλοντα and γραφόμενον (11) express the manner of χρῆσθαι, and with it make the apodosis to the conditions εἰ...ἑώρα and εἰ...παράνομα (sc. ἑώρα). εἰσαγγέλλαι is *to indict by εἰσαγγελία* (a state prosecution), as γράφομαι is (properly) *to indict by ordinary γραφή*. Notice the distinction between γράφοντα παράνομα, *proposing illegal measures*, and παρανόμων γραφόμενον, *indicting for illegal proposals*. For the double meaning of the passive of γράφω see note on § 56<sup>4</sup>.

11. οὐ γὰρ...ἐγράψατο: οὐ γὰρ δήπου belongs to both clauses, Κτησι- μὲν and ἐμὲ δ' κ.τ.λ.: *for it surely*

φῶντα μὲν δύναται διώκειν δι' ἐμὲ, ἐμὲ δ', εἴπερ ἐξελέγ-  
 ξειν ἐνόμιζεν, αὐτὸν οὐκ ἂν ἐγράψατο. καὶ μὴν εἴ τι 14  
 τῶν ἄλλων ὧν νυνὶ διέβαλλε καὶ διεξήκει ἢ καὶ ἄλλ'  
 ὁτιοῦν ἀδικοῦντά με ὑμᾶς ἑώρα, εἰσὶ νόμοι περὶ  
 πάντων καὶ τιμωρίαι, καὶ ἀγῶνες καὶ κρίσεις πικρά  
 καὶ μεγάλ' ἔχουσαι τὰπιτίμια, καὶ τούτοις ἐξῆν 5  
 230 ἅπασιν χρῆσθαι· καὶ ὁπηνίκ' ἐφαίνετο ταῦτα πεποιη-  
 κῶς καὶ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον κεχρημένος τοῖς πρὸς με,  
 ὠμολογεῖτ' ἂν ἡ κατηγορία τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ. νῦν δ' 15  
 ἐκὸς τὰς τῆς ὀρθῆς καὶ δικαίας ὁδοῦ καὶ φνγὼν τοὺς  
 παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα ἐλέγχους, τοσούτοις ὕστερον  
 χρόνοις αἰτίας καὶ σκώμματα καὶ λοιδορίας συμ-  
 φορήσας ὑποκρίνεται· εἴτα κατηγορεῖ μὲν ἐμοῦ, 5  
 κρίνει δὲ τουτονὶ, καὶ τοῦ μὲν ἀγῶνος ὅλου τῇ

cannot be that he is prosecuting Ctesiphon on my account, and yet would not have indicted me myself if etc. See note on § 17<sup>9</sup>.

12. δι' ἐμὲ, ἐμὲ δ': emphatic repetition.

§ 14. 1—3. εἴ τι...ἑώρα: if he ever saw me etc., a simple supposition, to which εἰσὶ νόμοι and ἐξῆν are a natural apodosis; ἐξῆν, he might, implies no unreal condition. Cf. ἐφ' οἷς ἑώρα, § 13<sup>6</sup>.—ὧν...διέβαλλε καὶ διεξήκει, i.e. which he slanderously related: cf. § 13<sup>6</sup>.

3—5. νόμοι...τὰπιτίμια: there is no tautology here. He first mentions laws and their prescribed penalties (τιμωρίαι), which would be used in ἀγῶνες ἀτίμητοι, in which the law fixed the penalties; then processes and (special) suits, in which heavy penalties could be inflicted by vote of the court (ἀγῶνες τιμητοί). ἐπιτίμια, like τιμήματα, are especially penalties which the judges assess (τιμῶσι).

6. ὁπηνίκ' ἐφαίνετο is so nearly equivalent to εἴ ποτε ἐφαίνετο (M.T. 528), that if he had ever been seen best translates it. It is often impossible to

express an unreal condition in English by a relative sentence: here whenever he had been seen would not be clear.

7. κεχρημένος τοῖς πρὸς με, to have dealt with me (managed his relations to me).

8. ὠμολογεῖτ' ἂν, would have been consistent, the impf. referring to the various occasions of κεχρημένος. If he had brought the proper suits (ἀγῶνες καὶ κρίσεις) against me personally at the time of each offence, his style of accusation (κατηγορία) before the court would have been consistent with his conduct; whereas now κατηγορεῖ μὲν ἐμοῦ, κρίνει δὲ τουτονὶ (§ 15<sup>6</sup>), this being his present ἔργον.

§ 15. 3. τοσούτοις ὕστερον χρόνοις: the Peace of Philocrates was sixteen years old at the time of the trial.

5. ὑποκρίνεται, he plays his part: cf. ἐτραγῶδει in § 13<sup>6</sup>. The word implies not only pomposity but dissimulation.—κατηγορεῖ...κρίνει: see note on § 14<sup>8</sup>.

6. τοῦ ἀγῶνος ὅλου προΐσταται,

πρὸς ἔμ' ἔχθραν προΐσταται, οὐδαμοῦ δ' ἐπὶ ταύτην ἀπηντηκῶς ἐμοὶ τὴν ἐτέρου ζητῶν ἐπιτιμίαν ἀφελέσθαι φαίνεται. καίτοι πρὸς ἅπασιν, ὧ ἄνδρες 16 Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῖς ἄλλοις οἷς ἂν εἰπεῖν τις ὑπὲρ Κτησιφῶντος ἔχοι, καὶ τοῦτ' ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ καὶ μάλ' εἰκότως ἂν λέγειν, ὅτι τῆς ἡμετέρας ἔχθρας ἡμᾶς ἐφ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν δίκαιον ἦν τὸν ἐξετασμὸν ποιείσθαι, 5 οὐ τὸ μὲν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀγωνίζεσθαι παραλείπειν, ἐτέρῳ δ' ὅτ' κακὸν τι δώσομεν ζητεῖν· ὑπερβολὴ γὰρ ἀδικίας τοῦτό γε.

Πάντα μὲν τοίνυν τὰ κατηγορημέν' ὁμοίως ἐκ 17 τούτων ἂν τις ἴδοι οὔτε δικαίως οὔτ' ἐπ' ἀληθείας οὐδεμιᾶς εἰρημένα· βούλομαι δὲ καὶ καθ' ἕνα καστον αὐτῶν ἐξετάσαι, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅσα ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης καὶ τῆς πρεσβείας κατεψεύσατό μου, τὰ πεπραγ- 5 μέν' ἐαυτῷ μετὰ Φιλοκράτους ἀνατιθεῖς ἐμοί. ἔστι

he puts foremost in (at the head of) his whole suit.

7. οὐδαμοῦ, nowhere, i.e. never: cf. οὐ in § 125<sup>1</sup> with following ἐνταῦθα.—ἐπὶ ταύτην, upon this ground (that of our enmity), keeping the figure of ἀπηντηκῶς ἐμοί, having met me—or with a view to this, i.e. to fight it out (West., Weil, Bl.): cf. ἐνταῦθ' ἀπήντηκας; § 125<sup>6</sup>.

8. ἐπιτιμίαν ἀφελέσθαι, i.e. to inflict ἀτιμία, which Ctesiphon would incur as a public debtor if he were unable to pay his fine if convicted.

§ 16. 3. δοκεῖ, personal, sc. τις (from 2): we translate it seems that one might say, because we must use a finite verb to express ἂν λέγειν (M.T. 754).

5. δίκαιον ἦν, we ought (M.T. 416): here of present time.—τὸν ἐξετασμὸν ποιείσθαι, to settle up.

7. ἐτέρῳ ὅτ' ἤζητεῖν, to seek what other man we can harm, ἐτέρῳ standing emphatically before the in-

direct interrogative ὅτ'ω: the direct question would be ἐτέρῳ τί... δώσομεν;

For the argument of §§ 17—52 on the Peace of Philocrates, with its three divisions, see note before § 9.

§ 17. 1. ὁμοίως with πάντα, all alike.

2. ἐπ' ἀληθείας οὐδεμιᾶς, with no regard to truth.

3. εἰρημένα: or, obl. with ἴδοι ἂν.—καθ' ἕνα, singly.—ἐκαστον: obj. of ἐξετάσαι (West.): cf. καθ' ἕνα ἐκαστον ἡνῶν ἀποστερεῖν, XXI. 142.

4. ὑπὲρ (like περὶ): see note on § 9<sup>a</sup>.

6. ἀνατιθεῖς ἐμοί, putting upon me. Originally Aeschines prided himself on his close connection with Philocrates in making the peace: see i. 174, τὴν εἰρήνην τὴν δι' ἐμοῦ καὶ Φιλοκράτους γεγενημένην. (See § 21<sup>b</sup>, and note; and Hist. § 23.)

δ' ἀναγκαῖον, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ προσήκον ἴσως, ὡς κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους εἶχε τὰ πράγματ' ἀναμνησαί, ἵνα πρὸς τὸν ὑπάρχοντα καιρὸν ἕκαστα θεωρήτε.

Τοῦ γὰρ Φωκικοῦ συστάντος πολέμου, οὐ δι' ἐμέ 10  
(οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγε ἐπολιτευόμην πω τότε), πρῶτον μὲν  
ὑμεῖς οὕτω διέκεισθε ὥστε Φωκέας μὲν βούλεσθαι  
231 σωθῆναι, καίπερ οὐ δίκαια ποιοῦντας ὀρώντες, Θη-  
βαίοις δ' ὅτιοῦν ἂν ἐφησθῆναι παθοῦσιν, οὐκ ἀλόγως 5  
οὐδ' ἀδίκως αὐτοῖς ὀργιζόμενοι· οἷς γὰρ εὐτυχήκεσαν  
ἐν Λεύκτροις οὐ μετρίως ἐκέχρηντο· ἔπειθ' ἡ Πελο-

7. καὶ προσήκον ἴσως, and becoming as well (as necessary).

9. ἀναμνησαί: sc. ὑμᾶς, which is added in most MSS. Cf. xx. 76, ταῦθ' ὑπομνησαί πειράσομαι.—πρὸς... καιρὸν, with reference to its special occasion (that which belonged to it).

§ 18. 1. Φωκικοῦ πολέμου: the Sacred or Phocian War began in 356—355 and ended in 346 B.C. Demosthenes made his first speech in the Assembly (on the Symmories) in 354 B.C. (Hist. §§ 4, 8.)

2. ἐπολιτευόμην: cf. § 60<sup>1</sup>.

3. οὕτω διέκεισθε: when we compare this judicious account of the feelings of the Athenians towards the Phocians and Thebans in 346 B.C. and earlier with the impassioned language of the speech on the Embassy and of the Second and Third Philipics, we see the sobering effect of time and of recent events. When the Thebans were exulting in the devastation of Phocis by Philip, and the political interests of Athens demanded that the Phocians should be protected as allies, Demosthenes seemed to overlook their sacrilegious plundering of Delphi, which he now acknowledges. Again, the intimate alliance of Thebes and Athens in 339 B.C., and still more the destruc-

tion of Thebes by Alexander in 335, had changed the Athenians' bitter hatred to the deepest sympathy. Still the orator cannot deny the old hostility against Thebes, nor the chief ground for it.

5. (ὥστε) ὅτιοῦν ἂν ἐφησθῆναι παθοῦσιν: see M.T. 592 and 211. It is often hard to express in English the distinction between the infin. and the finite moods with ὥστε, especially when the infin. has ἄν and must therefore be translated by a finite verb. The thought is, you were (so) disposed (as) to wish...and to feel that you would be pleased etc. (M.T. 584). ἐφησθῆναι ἄν has its protasis implied in παθοῦσιν. The position of Φωκέας μὲν (3) and Θηβαίοις δ' shows their strong antithesis.

6. οἷς εὐτυχήκεσαν, their successes: sc. τοῖς εὐτυχήμασιν (obj. of ἐκέχρηντο). Cf. περὶ ὧν ἡγνυμονήκεσαν, § 94<sup>2</sup>.

7. ἐν Λεύκτροις: for the battle of Leuctra in 371 B.C. see Grote x. ch. 78. See xx. 109, showing the feeling of Demosth. himself in 355: μῆζον Θηβαῖοι φρονοῦσιν ἐπ' ὠμότητι καὶ πονηρίᾳ ἢ ὑμεῖς ἐπὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ καὶ τῇ τὰ δίκαια βούλεσθαι. See note on § 98<sup>4</sup>.—ἔπειθ', after πρῶτον μὲν: see note on § 1<sup>4</sup>.

πόννησος ἅπασα διειστήκει, καὶ οὐθ' οἱ μισοῦντες  
 Λακεδαιμονίους οὕτως ἴσχυον ὥστε ἀνελεῖν αὐτοὺς,  
 οὐθ' οἱ πρότερον δι' ἐκείνων ἄρχοντες κύριοι τῶν 10  
 πόλεων ἦσαν, ἀλλὰ τις ἦν ἄκριτος καὶ παρὰ τού-  
 τοις καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἕρις καὶ ταραχή.  
 ταῦτα δ' ὁρῶν ὁ Φίλιππος (οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀφανῆ) τοῖς 19  
 παρ' ἐκάστοις προδόταις χρήματα ἀναλίσκων πάντας  
 συνέκρουε καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐτάραττεν· εἴτ' ἐν οἷς  
 ἡμάρτανον ἄλλοι καὶ κακῶς ἐφρόνουν, αὐτὸς παρέ-  
 σκευάζετο καὶ κατὰ πάντων ἐφύετο. ὥς δὲ ταλαι- 5  
 πωρούμενοι τῷ μήκει τοῦ πολέμου οἱ τότε μὲν βαρεῖς  
 νῦν δ' ἀτυχεῖς Θηβαῖοι φανεροὶ πᾶσιν ἦσαν ἀναγκα-  
 σθησόμενοι καταφεύγειν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς, Φίλιππος, ἵνα μὴ  
 τοῦτο γένοιτο μηδὲ συνέλθοιεν αἱ πόλεις, ὑμῖν μὲν  
 εἰρήνην ἐκείνοις δὲ βοήθειαν ἐπηγγείλατο. τί οὖν 20  
 συνηγωνίσατ' αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ λαβεῖν ὀλίγου δεῖν ὑμᾶς  
 ἐκόντας ἐξαπατωμένους; ἢ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων,

8. διειστήκει, *was in dissension* (distracted).—οἱ μισοῦντες: these were especially the Messenians and Arcadians, with their new cities Messene and Megalopolis, established by Epaminondas, and the Argives.

10. οἱ πρότερον ἄρχοντες are oligarchies which were maintained by Sparta in Peloponnesus before Leuctra, and were overthrown by the later revolutions.

11. ἄκριτος ἕρις καὶ ταραχή, *hopeless strife and confusion*. ἄκριτος is *not admitting of settlement* (κρίσις).

§ 19. 2. προδόταις: for the names of some of these see § 48; a longer black list is given in § 295.

3. συνέκρουε, *brought into collision* (knocked together): cf. συνέκρουον, 163<sup>9</sup>; and ἐνυγκρούειν, Thuc. I. 44.—ἐν οἷς ἡμάρτανον ἄλλοι, *in others' blunders*, cf. οἱς εὐτυχήσαν, § 18<sup>9</sup>, ἐν οἷς ἐπιστεύθητε in § 100<sup>9</sup>, ἐν οἷς εἰσηγ-

γελλόμεν in § 250<sup>1</sup>, ἐν οἷς σεμνύνομαι in § 258<sup>1</sup>, ἐν οἷς ἐπταισεν in § 286<sup>9</sup>, ἐν οἷς εὐτύχησεν in § 323<sup>9</sup>, ἐν αὐτοῖς οἷς χαρίζονται in IX. 63.

5. κατὰ πάντων ἐφύετο, *he was growing above all their heads*, i.e. so as to threaten them all.

6. τῷ μήκει: cf. δεκέτης γεγονώς, Aesch. III. 148.—βαρεῖς, *overbearing, offensive*.

7. νῦν δ' ἀτυχεῖς: after 335 B.C. See Schol., and notes on §§ 18<sup>9</sup> and 35<sup>10</sup>.—ἀναγκασθησόμενοι: in *or. obl.* with the personal φανεροὶ ἦσαν.

8. καταφεύγειν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς: no such possibility is suggested by the language of Demosthenes at the time of the peace; but times had changed.

§ 20. 2. ὀλίγου δεῖν, full form of ὀλίγον (M.T. 779), qualifies ἐκόντας ἐξαπατ., *almost willing dupes*: cf. μικροῦ, § 151<sup>3</sup>.

3. ἢ Ἑλλήνων: the actual subject

εἶτε χρὴ κακίαν εἶτ' ἄγνοίαν εἶτε καὶ ἀμφοτέρα ταῦτ' εἰπεῖν, οἱ πόλεμον συνεχῇ καὶ μακρὸν πολεμούντων 5 ὑμῶν, καὶ τοῦτον ὑπὲρ τῶν πᾶσι συμφερόντων, ὡς ἔργῳ φανερὸν γέγονεν, οὔτε χρήμασιν οὔτε σώμασιν οὔτ' ἄλλῳ οὐδενὶ τῶν ἀπάντων συνελάμβανον ὑμῖν· οἷς καὶ δικαίως καὶ προσηκόντως ὀργιζόμενοι ἐτοίμως 232 ὑπακούσατε τῷ Φιλίππῳ. ἡ μὲν οὖν τότε συγχωρηθεῖσα εἰρήνη διὰ ταῦτ', οὐ δι' ἐμέ, ὡς οὗτος διέβαλλεν, ἐπράχθη· τὰ δὲ τούτων ἀδικήματα καὶ δωροδοκίαν ἐν αὐτῇ τῶν νυνὶ παρόντων πραγμάτων, ἃν τις ἐξετάξῃ δικαίως, αὐτὶ ἐύρήσει, καὶ ταυτὶ πάνθ' ὑπὲρ 21 τῆς ἀληθείας ἀκριβολογοῦμαι καὶ διεξέρχομαι. εἰ γὰρ εἶναι τι δοκοίη τὰ μάλιστ' ἐν τούτοις ἀδίκημα, οὐδέν ἐστι δήπου πρὸς ἐμέ· ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν πρῶτος εἰπὼν καὶ μνησθεὶς ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης Ἀριστόδημος ἦν ὁ 5 ὑποκριτής, ὁ δ' ἐκδεξάμενος καὶ γράψας καὶ ἑαυτὸν

appears in the alternative *εἴτε...εἴτε*. See § 270<sup>1</sup>, and XXIII. 156: *ἡ ὑμετέρα, ὦ ἄνδρ. 'Αθ., εἶτε χρὴ φιλανθρωπίαν λέγειν εἶθ' ὅ τι δήποτε*.

4. *κακίαν*, baseness, here in the sense of worthlessness.

5. *πόλεμον μακρὸν*: the so-called Amphipolitan War with Philip (357—346 B.C.), which ended with the Sacred War. See Hist. § 3.

7. *σώμασιν*, lives: cf. § 66<sup>9</sup>.

10. *συγχωρηθεῖσα*, *conceded*, *acquiesced in*: Athens showed no alacrity in making the peace, though she was deceived as to the main point.

11. *διέβαλλεν*, *slanderingly declared*: see Aesch. III. 57 (end), 60.

13. *τῶν νυνὶ...εὔρήσει* (sc. *τις*): the firm foothold in Greece which Philip secured by the peace, especially his influence in the Amphictyonic Council, it is implied, made him at last the victor of Chaeronea.

§ 21. 1. *ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀληθείας*, *from regard for (in the interest of) truth*.

2. *ἀκριβολογοῦμαι καὶ διεξέρχομαι*: see note on § 4<sup>6</sup>.

3. *τὰ μάλιστ'*, *even most clearly*, with *δοκοίη*: cf. § 95<sup>6</sup>.

4. *οὐδέν...πρὸς ἐμέ*, *it is no concern of mine*: cf. §§ 44<sup>8</sup>, 60<sup>8</sup>. This may be an emphatic present apodosis, referring to the present condition implied in *εἰ...δοκοίη*, *if it should appear that there is (εἶναι) any fault*; or it may be an emphatic future expression, as in Pind. Isth. IV. (V.) 14, *πάντ' ἔχεις, εἰ σε τούτων μοῖρ' ἐφίκοιτο καλῶν, you have the whole, should a share of these glories fall to you*.

5. *Ἀριστόδημος*: a tragic actor of good repute, one of the company in which Aeschines once served (XIX. 246). For his informal mission to Philip in 348—347 B.C. see Hist. § 13.

6. *ὁ ἐκδεξάμενος*, *his successor* (he who took the business from him).—*γράψας*: i.e. *moved the peace*, which was named from this motion of Philocrates.

μετὰ τούτου μισθώσας ἐπὶ ταῦτα Φιλοκράτης ὁ Ἀγνούσιος, ὁ σὸς, Αἰσχίνη, κοινωνὸς, οὐχ ὁ ἐμὸς, οὐδ' ἂν σὺ διαρραγῆς ψευδόμενος, οἱ δὲ συνεπιπόντες 10  
 οὔτου δήποτε ἔνεκα (ἐὼ γὰρ τοῦτό γ' ἐν τῷ παρόντι) Εὐβουλος καὶ Κηφισοφῶν· ἐγὼ δ' οὐδὲν οὐδαμοῦ.  
 ἀλλ' ὅμως, τούτων τοιούτων ὄντων καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῆς τῆς 22  
 ἀληθείας οὕτω δεικνυμένων, εἰς τοῦθ' ἦκεν ἀναιδείας  
 ὥστ' ἐτόλμα λέγειν ὡς ἄρ' ἐγὼ πρὸς τῷ τῆς εἰρήνης  
 αἴτιος γεγενῆσθαι καὶ κεκωλυκῶς εἶην τὴν πόλιν  
 μετὰ κοινοῦ συνεδρίου τῶν Ἑλλήνων ταύτην ποιή- 5  
 σασθαι. εἴτ' ὦ—τί ἂν εἰπὼν σέ τις ὀρθῶς προσ-  
 εἴποι; ἔστιν ὅπου σὺ παρὼν, τηλικαύτην πράξιν  
 καὶ συμμαχίαν ἡλικὴν νυνὶ διεξήεις ὁρῶν ἀφαιρού-  
 μένον με τῆς πόλεως, ἡγανάκτησας, ἢ παρελθὼν  
 ταῦτα ἂ νῦν κατηγορεῖς ἐδίδαξας καὶ διεξῆλθες; 10  
 καὶ μὴν εἰ τὸ κωλύσαι τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων κοινωνίαν 23  
 ἐπεπράκειν ἐγὼ Φιλίππῳ, σοὶ τὸ μὴ σιγῆσαι λοιπὸν

9. οὐδ' ἂν σὺ διαρραγῆς, *not even if you split*: cf. the common imprecation διαρραγείης (Ar. Av. 2). See note on § 17<sup>6</sup>.

10. οὔτου δήποτε ἔνεκα, *for whatever reason (it may have been)*: δήποτε, like οὐν, makes δστις indefinite. This is as strong language as Demosthenes wishes to use of Eubulus, after his death. See Hist. § 14.

11. οὐδαμοῦ: cf. § 15<sup>7</sup>, and ἔστιν ὅπου, § 22<sup>7</sup>. Demosth. is fully justified in this strong denial.

§ 22. 1, 2. ὄντων, δεικνυμένων: adverbative (M.T. 842).

4. γεγενῆσθαι, κεκωλυκῶς εἶην: for the perfects see M.T. 103, 109. The whole sentence (3—6) ὡς ἄρ'... ποιήσασθαι refers to the elaborate charge of Aeschines (58—64), that Demosthenes pressed the negotiations for peace with indecent haste and thereby excluded other Greek states from the benefits of the treaty. The

answer in § 23 is perfectly satisfactory. (See Hist. §§ 15, 24.)

5. συνεδρίου: a special meeting of delegates to be summoned by Athens from various Greek states, which never met; not the regular synod of the allies of Athens, which was in session when the peace was made (Aesch. 111, 69, 70).

6. ὦ, τί ἂν... προσεῖποι; ἀποσιώπησις followed by a question: for the regular position of ἂν before εἰπὼν, see M.T. 224. Cf. ὦ τί σ' εἶπω; Ar. Nub. 1378.

7. ἔστιν ὅπου: temporal, like οὐδαμοῦ in § 21<sup>11</sup>.—παρὼν belongs to ὁρῶν... ἡγανάκτησας, ἢ... διεξῆλθες; (as a whole): the meaning is, *were you ever present when you saw me, etc.*—πράξιν καὶ συμμαχίαν: the general before the particular. In § 191<sup>9</sup> the order is reversed.

§ 23. 2, 3. ἐπεπράκειν: even the best mss. of Demosth. give this form

ὁ δὲ τοῦτ' ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου μάλιστα ἐπραγμα-  
 τεύετο, νομίζων, ὅπερ ἦν ἀληθές, ὅσα τῆς πόλεως  
 προλάβοι πρὸ τοῦ τοὺς ὅρκους ἀποδοῦναι, πάντα  
 ταῦτα βεβαίως ἔξειν· οὐδένα γὰρ τὴν εἰρήνην λύ- 10  
 σειν τούτων ἕνεκα. ἀγὼ προορώμενος, ἄνδρες Ἀθη- 27  
 ναῖοι, καὶ λογιζόμενος τὸ ψήφισμα τοῦτο γράφω,  
 πλείν ἐπὶ τοὺς τόπους ἐν οἷς ἂν ᾧ Φίλιππος καὶ  
 τοὺς ὅρκους τὴν ταχίστην ἀπολαμβάνειν, ἵν' ἐχόν-  
 των τῶν Θρακῶν, τῶν ὑμετέρων συμμάχων, ταῦτα 5  
 τὰ χωρία ἃ νῦν οὗτος διέσυρε, τὸ Σέρριον καὶ τὸ  
 Μυρτηνὸν καὶ τὴν Ἐργίσκην, οὕτω γίγνοιθ' οἱ  
 ὅρκοι, καὶ μὴ προλαβὼν ἐκεῖνος τοὺς ἐπικαίρους τῶν  
 τόπων κύριος τῆς Θράκης κατασταίῃ, μηδὲ πολλῶν  
 μὲν χρημάτων πολλῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν εὐπορήσας ἐκ 10  
 τούτων ῥαδίως τοῖς λοιποῖς ἐπιχειροῖ πρᾶγμασιν.  
 εἴτα τοῦτο μὲν οὐχὶ λέγει τὸ ψήφισμα οὐδ' ἀναγι- 28

7. τοῦτ', his own plan, to prolong the time when Athens must be quiet while he could act, referring to 4, 5.—ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου, i.e. from Philip's first suggestions of peace.

8. ὅσα προλάβοι, *all that he might secure from the city*: we might have δὲ ἂν προλάβῃ in the same sense (cf. § 25<sup>7</sup>).

10. οὐδένα...λύσειν continues the *or. obl.* from ἔξειν. Even an optative may be thus continued, as in 1. 22.

§ 27. 2. ψήφισμα γράφω πλείν: cf. ἔγραψα ἀποπλεῖν (§ 25<sup>6</sup>).—τοῦτο, i.e. the decree just mentioned.

6. διέσυρε, *ridiculed (tore in pieces)*, refers to Aesch. III. 82, where he charges Demosth. with making trouble, after the peace was concluded, by mentioning all the insignificant places captured by Philip: οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ πρῶτος ἐξευρὼν Σέρριον τείχος καὶ Δορίσκον καὶ Ἐργίσκην καὶ Μυρτίσκην

καὶ Γάνος καὶ Γανιάδα, χωρία ὧν οὐδὲ τὰ δόγματα ἦδεμεν πρότερον.

7. οὕτω, *under these circumstances* (hardly translatable), sums up the preceding ἐχόντων...Ἐργίσκην.—γίγνοιθ' with ἵνα depends on γράφω, historic present.

8. ἐπικαίρους, *seasonable*, here *advantageous* for attacking the Athenian possessions, especially the Chersonese.

9. κατασταίῃ and ἐπιχειροῖ (11) continue the final clause with ἵνα (4).—πολλῶν χρημάτων: from the rich Thracian gold mines. Diod. XVI. 8 says that Philip had a revenue of a thousand talents (£200,000) from his mines at Philippi.

11. τοῖς λοιποῖς (cf. § 95<sup>11</sup>), *what remained to be done*.

§ 28. 1. λέγει—ἀναγιγνώσκει, *recites—has it read (by the clerk)*. λέγε, properly *recite, repeat*, is the term most commonly used for *read* in addressing the clerk.

2. γνῶσκει· εἰ δὲ βουλευῶν ἐγὼ προσάγειν τοὺς πρέσβεις ὥμην δεῖν, τοῦτό μου διαβάλλει. ἀλλὰ τί ἐχρῆν με ποιεῖν; μὴ προσάγειν γράψαι τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦθ' ἤκοντας, ἵν' ὑμῖν διαλεχθῶσιν; ἢ θέαν μὴ κατα- 5  
νεῖμαι τὸν ἀρχιτέκτονα αὐτοῖς. κελεῦσαι; ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖν δυοῖν ὀβολοῖν ἐθεώρουν ἂν, εἰ μὴ τοῦτ' ἐγράφη. τὰ μικρὰ συμφέροντα τῆς πόλεως ἔδει με φυλάττειν, τὰ δ' ὅλα, ὥσπερ οὗτοι, πεπρακέναι; οὐ δῆπου. λέγε τοίνυν μοι τὸ ψήφισμα τουτὶ λαβὼν, δ' σαφῶς 10  
οὗτος εἰδὼς παρέβη.

2. προσάγειν τοὺς πρέσβεις (sc. εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν): these were the ambassadors sent by Philip to negotiate the peace. Foreign embassies first presented themselves to the Senate, which by a decree provided for their introduction to the Assembly: see Aesch. II. 58, ταῖς δὲ ξενικαῖς πρεσβείαις ἢ βουλὴ τὰς εἰς τὸν δῆμον προβούλευει. Such a bill was proposed by Demosth. in the Senate before the arrival of the ambassadors, appointing a special meeting of the Assembly to receive them on the eighth of Elaphebolion: afterwards the discussion of the peace was postponed to the eighteenth and nineteenth.

5. θέαν...κελεῦσαι (sc. ἐχρῆν): ought I not to have ordered the architect (of the theatre) to assign them seats (as I did)? θέαν, place to see; cf. ἐθεώρουν (7): this would be the προεδρία (Aesch. III. 76). The stone Dionysiac theatre was at this time building under the direction of Lycurgus; and the lessee was called ἀρχιτέκτων, as an important part of his duties was the superintendence of the work of building. See Dürpfeld and Reisch, Griech. Theater, 36—40, where the building of the theatre is assigned to about 350—325 B.C. Aeschines (61, 76) makes this official

politeness of Demosthenes one ground of his grotesque charge of flattering Philip! To this Demosth. alludes in § 294<sup>2</sup>, ὅς γὰρ ἐμοὶ Φιλιππισμῶν, κ.τ.λ. Aesch., however, mentions only the introduction of the envoys to the theatre.

6. ἐν τοῖν δυοῖν ὀβολοῖν, in the two-obol seats, the threepenny seats of the ordinary citizens. The δῶδελλα, which was then given from the theoric fund as festival money to every citizen who asked for it, paid the entrance fee to the theatre. It is implied that the distinguished strangers could have been admitted, like other people, to the common seats by merely paying their two obols. With ἐν τοῖν δυοῖν ὀβολοῖν cf. ἐν τοῖς ἰχθύσιν, Ar. Vesp. 789 (see Ran. 1068), in the fish-market, ἐν τῷ μύρῳ, Eq. 1375.

7. εἰ μὴ τοῦτ' ἐγράφη, i.e. had I not proposed my bill.

8. τὰ μικρὰ συμφέροντα: it is jocosely assumed that Aesch. objected to the higher price which the state probably paid for the front seats, or perhaps to the state paying for the seats at all.—φυλάττειν, πεπρακέναι: the change of tense may perhaps be seen in a paraphrase; was it my duty to watch the petty interests of the state, after I had sold her highest interests like these men? With ὅλα, whole, entire, cf. τῶν ὅλων τι, § 278<sup>9</sup>.

[Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Μνησιφίλου, ἑκατομβαιωνος ἔτη καὶ νέα, φυλῆς πρυτανεύουσας Πανδιονίδος, Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παιανιεύς εἶπεν, ἐπειδὴ Φίλιππος ἀποστείλας πρέσβεις περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ὁμολογουμένας πεποιήται συνθήκας, δεδόχθαι 5 τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων, ὅπως ἂν ἡ εἰρήνη ἐπιτελεσθῇ ἢ ἐπιχειροτονηθεῖσα ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ, πρέσβεις ἐλέσθαι ἐκ πάντων Ἀθηναίων ἤδη πέντε, τοὺς δὲ χειροτονηθέντας ἀποδημῆν, μηδεμίαν ὑπερβολὴν ποιουμένους, ὅπου ἂν ὄντα πυνθάνωνται τὸν Φίλιππον, καὶ τοὺς ὄρκους 10 λαβεῖν τε παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ δοῦναι τὴν ταχίστην ἐπὶ ταῖς ὁμολογημέναις συνθήκαις αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον, συμπεριλαμβάνοντας καὶ τοὺς ἐκατέρων συμμάχους. πρέσβεις ἡρέθησαν Εὐβουλος Ἀναφλύστιος, Αἰσχίνης Κοθωκίδης, Κηφισοφῶν Ῥαμνοῦσιος, Δημοκράτης Φλυεύς, Κλέων Κο- 15 θωκίδης.]

Ταῦτα γράψαντος ἐμοῦ τότε καὶ τὸ τῇ πόλει 30 συμφέρον οὐ τὸ Φιλίππῳ ζητούντος, βραχὺ φροντίσαντες οἱ χρηστοὶ πρέσβεις οὗτοι καθήντ' ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ τρεῖς ὅλους μῆνας, ἕως ἤλθε Φίλιππος ἐκ Θράκης πάντα καταστρεψάμενος, ἐξὸν ἡμερῶν δέκα, 5

§ 29. This decree is a good specimen of ignorant forgery. The Archon's name and the date are both wrong; it is called a decree of the Senate and the People, when it was passed by the Senate alone; it provides for the appointment of five envoys when there were ten, and these had been appointed long before; it provides for the oaths to be taken by Athens and her allies, when these had already been taken; and most of the five names of the envoys are wrong.

§ 30. 1. τὸ τῇ πόλει συμφέρον: cf. 28<sup>a</sup>, where τὰ συμφέροντα (with the gen.) is a pure substantive.

4. τρεῖς ὅλους μῆνας: "sat still in

Macedonia three whole months," is of course a rhetorical exaggeration, which is corrected by Demosth. himself. In XIX. 57 he says ἀπεδημήσαμεν τρεῖς μῆνας ὅλους (cf. I 58), somewhat less incorrectly; but in 58—60 he gives the exact dates, by which we see that the embassy was absent from Athens only about ten weeks. (See Hist. § 33.)

5. πάντα καταστρεψάμενος: see § 27.—ἐξὸν...ἀφίχθαι...σῶσαι: ἐξὸν represents ἐξήν, and ἀφίχθαι is a proper perfect (M.T. 109); lit. *it was in our power to have (already) arrived and to save the towns*, i.e. we might have done both of these.

ὁμοίως δὲ τριῶν ἢ τεττάρων, εἰς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον  
 ἀφίχθαι καὶ τὰ χωρία σῶσαι, λαβόντας τοὺς ὄρκους  
 πρὶν ἐκείνον ἐξελεῖν αὐτά· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἦψατ' αὐτῶν  
 παρόντων ἡμῶν, ἢ οὐκ ἂν ὠρκίζομεν αὐτόν, ὥστε τῆς  
 236 εἰρήνης ἂν διημαρτήκει καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἀμφοτέρ' εἶχε, καὶ 10  
 τὴν εἰρήνην καὶ τὰ χωρία.

Τὸ μὲν τοίνυν ἐν τῇ πρεσβείᾳ πρῶτον κλέμμα<sup>6</sup> 31  
 μὲν Φιλίππου δωροδόκημα δὲ τῶν ἀδίκων τούτων  
 ἀνθρώπων τοιοῦτον ἐγένετο· ὑπὲρ οὗ καὶ τότε καὶ  
 νῦν καὶ αἰεὶ ὁμολογῶ καὶ πολεμεῖν καὶ διαφέρεισθαι  
 τούτοις. ἕτερον δ' εὐθύς ἐφεξῆς ἔτι τούτου μείζον 5  
 κακὸῦργήμα θεάσασθε. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ὠμολόγησε τὴν 32  
 εἰρήνην ὁ Φίλιππος προλαβὼν τὴν Θράκην διὰ  
 τούτους οὐχὶ πεισθέντας τῷ ἐμῷ ψηφίσματι, πάλιν  
 ὠνεῖται παρ' αὐτῶν ὅπως μὴ ἀπιμεν<sup>4</sup> ἐκ Μακεδονίας,  
 ἕως τὰ τῆς στρατείας τῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς Φωκέας εὐτρεπή 5  
 ποιήσaiτο, ἵνα μὴ, δεῦρ' ἀπαγγελιάντων ἡμῶν ὅτι

6. ὁμοίως, *quite as well* (as in ten days): the common reading μάλλον would mean *rather*.

9. παρόντων = εἰ παρῆμεν, *if we had been there*. For the various past tenses with ἂν, all of which are in 8—10, see M.T. 413: thus τῆς εἰρ. ἂν διημαρτήκει is *he would have failed to secure the peace* (which he had already secured by our absence), and οὐκ ἂν ἀμφοτέρ' εἶχε is *he would not have had both* (as he did have).

§ 31. 1. κλέμμα μὲν: cf. μὴ κλέπτε νόψ, II. I. 132. The position of μὲν shows that the seven words before κλέμμα belong to both κλέμμα and δωροδόκημα.

4. πολεμεῖν καὶ διαφέρεισθαι: these represent (in *or. obl.*) the past, the present, and the emphatic future indicated by τότε, νῦν, and αἰεὶ (M.T. 32, 119).

§ 32. 2. διὰ τούτους οὐχὶ πεισθέντας (without τοὺς) is, *because of*

*their disobedience*, like μετὰ Συρακούσας οἰκισθείσας, Thuc. VI. 3, and post urbem conditam. This is rare in Greek, where we should expect διὰ τὸ μὴ πεισθῆναι (M.T. 829<sup>b</sup>). See § 42<sup>6</sup>, with τῶν...μισθωσάντων.

4. ὠνεῖται...ὅπως μὴ ἀπιμεν, *he bribes them (to effect) that we shall not depart* (M.T. 339): ἀπιμεν (as fut., M.T. 29) is more regular after ὠνεῖται than ἀπίωμεν, and has commended itself to nearly all recent editors, though it rests only on a grammarian's authority. (Bekker's Anecd. p. 129<sup>4</sup>.)

5. ἕως...ποιήσaiτο, after the historic present ὠνεῖται. The clause with ἕως has a final force (M.T. 614), the idea being that he bribed them to wait long enough for him to get his army ready.

6. ἵνα μὴ...ποιήσαι (11): the purpose of ὠνεῖται.

μέλλει καὶ παρασκευάζεται πορεύεσθαι, ἐξέλθοιθ' ὑμεῖς καὶ περιπλεύσαντες ταῖς τριήρεσιν εἰς Πύλας ὥσπερ πρότερον κλείσατε τὸν τόπον, ἀλλ' ἅμ' ἀκούετε ταῦτ' ἀπαγγελλόντων ἡμῶν κἀκείνος ἐντὸς 10 εἷη Πυλῶν καὶ μηδὲν ἔχοιθ' ὑμεῖς ποιῆσαι. οὕτω δ' 33 ἦν ὁ Φίλιππος ἐν φόβῳ καὶ πολλῇ ἀγωνίᾳ, μὴ καὶ ταῦτα προεὐληφότος αὐτοῦ, εἰ πρὸ τοῦ τοὺς Φωκέας ἀπολέσθαι ψηφίσαισθε βοηθεῖν, ἐκφύγοι τὰ πράγματ' αὐτὸν, ὥστε μισθοῦται τὸν κατάπτυστον 5 τουτονι, οὐκέτι κοινῇ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων πρέσβειων, ἀλλ' ἰδίᾳ καθ' αὐτὸν, τοιαῦτα πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰπεῖν καὶ ἀπαγγεῖλαι δι' ὧν ἅπαντ' ἀπώλετο. ἀξιῶ δέ, ὦ 34 ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ δέομαι τοῦτο μεμνησθαι παρ' ὅλον τὸν ἀγῶνα, ὅτι μὴ κατηγορήσαντος Αἰσχίνου 237 μηδὲν ἔξω τῆς γραφῆς οὐδ' ἂν ἐγὼ λόγον οὐδέν' ἐποιοῦμην ἕτερον· πάσαις δ' αἰτίαις καὶ βλασφημίας ἅμα τούτου κεχρημένου ἀνάγκη ἀμοὶ πρὸς ἕκαστα τῶν κατηγορημένων μικρ' ἀποκρίνασθαι.

7, 8. ἐξέλθοιθ' refers to the land force.—περιπλεύσαντες ὥσπερ πρότερον refers to the famous expedition in 352 B.C., when Athens stopped Philip at Thermopylae. See IV. 17; XIX. 84, 319; Grote XI. 403—405; and Hist. § 6.

9. κλείσατε τὸν τόπον, i.e. make Thermopylae impassable.

10. ἀπαγγελλόντων: present to ἀκούετε, as ἀπαγγελλάντων in 6 is past to ἐξέλθοιτε.

§ 33. 1. οὕτω: antecedent of ὥστε (§ 5).

2. ἀγωνία, conflict (of mind): Vömel refers Hesych. ἐν ἀγωνίᾳ, ἐν μερίμνῃ, to this passage.

3. εἰ πρὸ τοῦ: the older editions with nearly all MSS. omit εἰ and read καὶ ἐκφύγοι in 4, making ψηφίσαισθε depend on μὴ.—πρὸ τοῦ... ἀπολέσθαι, i.e. before he could have

time to lay Phocis waste: cf. XIX. 123.

5. ὥστε μισθοῦται: a clear case of ὥστε requiring the indicative (M.T. 582, 583).

6. οὐκέτι κοινῇ: Aeschines alone was indicted for παραπροσβέλα. See § 41<sup>8</sup>.

8. δι' ὧν here and δι' οὓς in § 35<sup>2</sup> approach each other very closely, both referring to the same thing.

§ 34. 1, 2. ἀξιῶ, I ask of you (as something ἀξιῶν); δέομαι, I entreat. See § 6<sup>2</sup>.

4. ἔξω τῆς γραφῆς: he has already (§ 9) justified his discussion of the peace; and he repeats his apology now, chiefly to call special attention to what follows.

4, 5. ἐποιοῦμην ἂν refers to his present argument (cf. § 9<sup>8</sup>).—ἕτερον, foreign to the subject, like ἀλλότριον: cf. ἕτερος λόγος οὗτος, § 44<sup>8</sup>.

τίνες οὖν ἦσαν οἱ παρὰ τούτου λόγοι τότε ῥηθέντες, 35  
καὶ δι' οὓς ἅπαντ' ἀπώλετο ; ὥς οὐ δεῖ θορυβεῖσθαι  
τῷ παρεληλυθέναι Φίλιππον εἰσω Πυλῶν· ἔσται  
γὰρ ἅπανθ' ὅσα βούλεσθ' ὑμεῖς, τὰν ἔχηθ' ἡσυχίαν,  
καὶ ἀκούσεσθε δυοῖν ἢ τριῶν ἡμερῶν, οἷς μὲν ἐχθρὸς 5  
ἦκει, φίλον αὐτὸν γεγεννημένον, οἷς δὲ φίλος, τούταν-  
τίον ἐχθρόν. οὐ γὰρ τὰ ῥήματα τὰς οἰκειότητας ἔφη  
βεβαίουν, μάλα σεμνῶς ὀνομάζων, ἀλλὰ τὸ ταῦτα  
συμφέρειν· συμφέρειν δὲ Φιλίππῳ καὶ Φωκεῦσι καὶ  
ὕμιν ὁμοίως ἅπασι τῆς ἀναλγησίας καὶ τῆς βαρύτη- 10  
τος ἀπαλλαγῆναι τῆς τῶν Θηβαίων. ταῦτα δ' 36  
ἀσμένως τινὲς ἤκουον αὐτοῦ διὰ τὴν τόθ' ὑποῦσαν  
ἀπέχθειαν πρὸς τοὺς Θηβαίους. τί οὖν συνέβη μετὰ

§ 35. 1. οἱ...ῥηθέντες: see the fuller account of this speech in XIX. 20—22. Aeschines said that the Thebans had set a price on his head for his anti-Theban advice to Philip. See Hist. § 34.

3. τῷ παρεληλυθέναι: he begged the people not to be disturbed by news that Philip *had already passed* Thermopylae.

5, 6. οἷς μὲν, the Phocians; οἷς δὲ, the Thebans.

7. ῥήματα: e.g. the Thebans' title of allies of Philip (cf. § 213<sup>2</sup>).

8. μάλα σεμνῶς ὀνομάζων, using very solemn expressions. He often jokes about the σεμνότης of Aesch. See §§ 130, 133, 258, and XIX. 23.

9. συμφέρειν· συμφέρειν: a striking ἀναστροφή.

10. ἀναλγησίας, want of feeling, explained by the Schol. as ἀναισθησίας. There can be little doubt that this word, like ἀναισθητοί in § 43<sup>2</sup>, refers to the dulness and lack of keen perception for which the Thebans were proverbial. See Nep. Epam. 5, 2, namque illi genti plus vitium quam ingenii, and Alcib. 11, 3, omnes enim

Boeotii magis firmitati corporis quam ingenii acuminis inserviunt; Cic. de Fato IV. 7, Athenis tenue caelum, ex quo acutiores putantur Attici; crassum Thebis, itaque pingues Thebani et valentes; Hor. Epist. II. 1, 244, Boeotum in crasso aere natum. This dulness, and the consequent illiteracy of Thebes compared with Athens, gave rise to the proverb Βοιωτῶν ἴν, Pind. Ol. VI. 90: see the Schol., τὸ ἀρχαῖον δνειδός, τούτῳσι τὴν παλαιὰν διαβολὴν τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀμουσίᾳ. Aristotle, Eth. III. 7, 7, says of a man lacking in φόβος, εἴη δ' ἂν τις μαϊνόμενος ἢ ἀνάλγητος, εἰ μὴδὲν φοβοῖτο, μῆτε σεισμὸν μῆτε κύματα, and in III. II, 7, of those insensible to pleasure, ἐλλείποντες δὲ τὰ περὶ τὰς ἡδονῶν καὶ ἡττον ἢ δεῖ χαίροντες οὐ πάντῃ γίνονται· οὐ γὰρ ἀνθρωπικὴ ἐστὶν ἡ τοιαύτη ἀναισθησία. Aristotle here means stupidity and slowness, not moral obliquity, by both ἀνάλγητος and ἀναισθησία.—βαρύτητος: cf. § 19<sup>6</sup>.

§ 36. 2. τὴν τόθ' ὑποῦσαν (cf. ὑπῆστι, § 315<sup>2</sup>): a mild way of speaking of the enmity against Thebes in 346 B.C. See § 18<sup>3</sup> with note.

ταῦτ' εὐθὺς, οὐκ εἰς μακράν; τοὺς μὲν Φωκέας ἀπο-  
 λέσθαι καὶ κατασκαφῆναι τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν, ὑμᾶς δ' ἡ- 5  
 συχίαν ἀγαγόντας καὶ τούτῳ πεισθέντας μικρὸν  
 ὕστερον σκευαγωγεῖν ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν, τοῦτον δὲ χρυ-  
 σίον λαβεῖν, καὶ ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις τὴν μὲν ἀπέχθειαν  
 τὴν πρὸς Θηβαίους καὶ Θετταλοὺς τῇ πόλει γενέσθαι,  
 τὴν δὲ χάριν τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν πεπραγμένων Φιλίππῳ. 10  
 ὅτι δ' οὕτω ταῦτ' ἔχει, λέγε μοι τό τε τοῦ Καλλισθέ- 37  
 νους ψήφισμα καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τοῦ Φιλίππου, ἐξ  
 ὧν ἀμφοτέρων ταύθ' ἅπανθ' ὑμῖν ἔσται φανερά.  
 λέγε.

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## ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

5

[Ἐπὶ Μνησιφίλου ἄρχοντος, συγκλήτου ἐκκλησίας ὑπὸ  
 στρατηγῶν καὶ πρυτάνεων, [καὶ] βουλῆς γνώμη, μαιμακτη-  
 ριώντος δεκάτῃ ἀπριλίου, Καλλισθένης Ἐτεονίκου Φαληρεὺς  
 εἶπε μηδένα Ἀθηναίων μηδεμιᾶ παρενρῆσει ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ  
 κοιταῖον γίνεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐν ᾧσται καὶ Πειραιεῖ, ὅσοι μὴ ἐν 10  
 τοῖς φρουρίοις εἰσὶν ἀποτεταγμένοι· τούτων δ' ἐκάστους ἦν  
 παρέλαβον τάξιν διατηρεῖν μήτε ἀφημερεύοντος μήτε ἀπο-  
 κοιτῶντος. ὅς δ' ἂν ἀπειθήσῃ τῷδε τῷ ψηφίσματι, ἔνοχος 38  
 ἔστω τοῖς τῆς προδοσίας ἐπιτιμίαις, ἐὰν μὴ τι ἀδύνατον  
 ἐπιδεικνύῃ περὶ ἑαυτὸν ὄν· περὶ δὲ τοῦ ἀδυνάτου ἐπικρινέτω  
 ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ὀπλῶν στρατηγὸς καὶ ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως καὶ  
 ὁ γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς. κατακομίζειν δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῶν 5

4. οὐκ εἰς μακράν (sc. ὁδόν), *not much later, not a long way off*: eis of looking forward to an end, as in § 151<sup>8</sup>, eis Πυλαίαν.—τοὺς μὲν...ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν (7): eleven days after the report of the second embassy to the Assembly, the alarming news of the surrender of the Phocians at Thermopylae arrived. See Hist. § 36.

7. σκευαγωγεῖν, i.e. *were bringing your goods into the towns*, as ordered by the decree of Callisthenes (§ 37).—

χρυσίον λαβεῖν: in malicious contrast to σκευαγωγεῖν.

8. τὴν μὲν ἀπέχθειαν...Φιλίππῳ: i.e. Athens by her vacillating course got nothing but the ill will of Philip's Greek friends, who believed that she would have protected the Phocians if she had dared to; while Philip had all the credit for ending the Sacred War and punishing the sacrilegious Phocians.

ἀγρῶν πάντα τὴν ταχίστην, τὰ μὲν ἐντὸς σταδίων ἑκατὸν εἴκοσιν εἰς ἄστυ καὶ Πειραιᾶ, τὰ δὲ ἐκτὸς σταδίων ἑκατὸν εἴκοσιν εἰς Ἐλευσίνα καὶ Φυλὴν καὶ Ἀφιδναν καὶ Ῥαμνούντα καὶ Σούνιον.]

Ἄρ' ἐπὶ ταύταις ταῖς ἐλπίσι τὴν εἰρήνην ἐποι- 10  
εἴσθε, ἢ ταῦτ' ἐπηγγέλλεθ' ὑμῖν οὗτος ὁ μισθωτός;

Λέγε δὴ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἣν ἔπεμψε Φίλιππος 39  
μετὰ ταῦτα.

## ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ.

[Βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων Φίλιππος Ἀθηναίων τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ χαίρειν. ἵστε ἡμᾶς παρελθούσας εἰσω Πυλῶν 5 καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν Φωκίδα ὑφ' ἑαυτοὺς πεποιημένους, καὶ ὅσα μὲν ἐκουσίως προσετίθετο τῶν πολισμάτων, φρουρὰς εἰσαγγο- 239 χότας, τὰ δὲ μὴ ὑπακούοντα κατὰ κράτος λαβόντες καὶ ἐξανδραποδισάμενοι κατεσκάψαμεν. ἀκούων δὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς παρασκευάζεσθαι βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς γέγραφα ὑμῖν, ἵνα μὴ ἐπὶ πλέον 10 ἐνοχλήσθε περὶ τούτων· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ὅλοις οὐδὲν μέτριόν μοι δοκεῖτε ποιεῖν, τὴν εἰρήνην συνθέμενοι καὶ ὁμοίως ἀντιπαρεξάγοντες, καὶ ταῦτα οὐδὲ συμπεριειλημμένων τῶν Φωκίων ἐν ταῖς κοιναῖς ἡμῶν συνθήκαις. ὥστε ἂν μὴ ἐμμένητε τοῖς ὁμολογημένοις, οὐδὲν προτερήσετε ἔξω τοῦ ἐφθακέναι ἀδι- 15 κούντες.]

Ἀκούετε ὡς σαφῶς δηλοῖ καὶ διορίζεται ἐν τῇ 40  
πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐπιστολῇ πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ συμμάχους,  
ὅτι ἐγὼ πεποίηκα ταῦτ' ἀκόντων Ἀθηναίων

§ 38. 11. ταῦτ' ἐπηγγέλλεθ'; i.e. how does the decree just read to you agree with the report of Aeschines (§ 35)?

§ 39. This letter must be spurious. The genuine letter would have more definite allusions to the dissatisfaction of Athens, to justify what is said of it in § 40. Grote remarks that

Demosthenes would have spoken much more severely of a letter so insolent as this one.

§ 40. 2. πρὸς συμμάχους, with δηλοῖ καὶ διορίζεται. The letter, though addressed to the Athenians, was really written for Philip's allies.

3. ὅτι before the direct quotation (M.T. 711).

καὶ λυπομένων, ὥστ', εἶπερ εὖ φρονεῖτε, ὁ  
 Θηβαῖοι καὶ Θετταλοὶ, τούτους μὲν ἐχθροὺς 5  
 ὑπολήψεσθε ἐμοὶ δὲ πιστεύετε,—οὐ τούτοις  
 τοῖς ῥήμασι γράψας, ταῦτα δὲ βουλόμενος δεικνύ-  
 ναι. τοῖς γαροῦν ἐκ τούτων ὥχεται ἐκείνους λαβὼν  
 εἰς τὸ μηδ' ὅτι οὖν προορᾶν τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα μηδ'  
 αἰσθάνεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐᾶσαι πάντα τὰ πράγματα ἐκεῖ- 10  
 νον ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ ποιήσασθαι· ἐξ ὧν ταῖς παρούσαις  
 συμφοραῖς οἱ ταλαίπωροὶ κέχρηται. ὁ δὲ ταύτης 41  
 τῆς πίστεως αὐτῷ συνεργὸς καὶ συναγωγιστῆς, καὶ  
 ὁ δεῦρ' ἀπαγγείλας τὰ ψευδῆ καὶ φενάκισας ὑμᾶς,  
 οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τὰ Θηβαίων ὀδυρόμενος νῦν πάθη καὶ  
 διεξιὼν ὡς οἰκτρὰ, καὶ τούτων καὶ τῶν ἐν Φωκεύσι 5  
 κακῶν καὶ ὅς' ἄλλα πεπόνθασιν οἱ Ἕλληνες ἀπάν-  
 των αὐτὸς ὧν αἴτιος. δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι σὺ μὲν ἀλγείς  
 ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβεβηκόσιν, Αἰσχίνῃ, καὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους  
 ἐλεεῖς, κτήμ' ἔχων ἐν τῇ βοιωτίᾳ καὶ γεωργῶν τὰ  
 ἐκείνων, ἐγὼ δὲ χαίρω, ὃς εὐθὺς ἐξητούμην ὑπὸ τοῦ 10  
 240 ταῦτα πράξαντος.

8. ὥχεται ἐκείνους λαβὼν, *he carried them (his allies) away* (M.T. 895); the figure is continued in *eis to* with the infinitives.

11. ἐξ ὧν, *as a result of which*.

12. οἱ ταλαίπωροι: Θηβαῖοι is added in all MSS. except Σ. Of course the destruction of Thebes by Alexander is chiefly meant, and this suggests the digression in § 41; but the condition of Thessaly after the peace, which had been in Philip's power since 352 B.C., may well be included. See IX. 26: Θετταλία πῶς ἔχει; οὐχὶ τὰς πολιτείας καὶ τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν παρήρηται καὶ τετραρχίας κατέστησεν, ἵνα μὴ μόνον κατὰ πόλεις ἀλλὰ καὶ κατ' ἐθνη δουλεύουσιν;

§ 41. 1. ὁ δὲ...συνεργός, *i.e. he who helped him thus to persuade his allies*: with πίστεως cf. πιστεύετε, § 40<sup>6</sup>.

3. ἀπαγγείλας τὰ ψευδῆ: see § 35. In XIX. 4, Demosth. puts ὧν ἀπήγγειλε, *his report*, first among the things for which an ambassador should render an account.

4. ὀδυρόμενος: see the solemn and eloquent invocation of Aesch. in III. 133, Θῆβαι δὲ, Θῆβαι, πόλις ἀστυγέλτων, κ.τ.λ., with 156, 157.

9. κτήμ' ἔχων: Aesch. is charged with holding a confiscated Theban estate (κτήμα is in Σ alone) by the gift of Alexander; as in XIX. 145 Philocrates and Aeschines are charged with having κτήματα καὶ γεωργίας παμπληθεῖς in Phocis by gift of Philip. We have no independent evidence on either of these charges.

10. ἐξητούμην: Demosth. was among the eight or ten Attic orators who were demanded by Alexander

Ἄλλὰ γὰρ ἐμπέπτωκα εἰς λόγους οὓς αὐτίκα 42  
μᾶλλον ἴσως ἀρμόσει λέγειν. ἐπάνειμι δὴ πάλιν  
ἐπὶ τὰς ἀποδείξεις ὡς τὰ τούτων ἀδικήματα τῶν  
νυνὶ παρόντων πραγμάτων γέγονεν αἷτια.

Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐξηπάτησθε μὲν ὑμεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ 5  
Φιλίππου διὰ τούτων τῶν ἐν ταῖς πρεσβείαις μισθω-  
σάντων ἑαυτοὺς καὶ οὐδὲν ἀληθὲς ὑμῖν ἀπαγγει-  
λάντων, ἐξηπάτηντο δὲ οἱ ταλαίπωροι Φωκεῖς καὶ  
ἀνῆρηντο αἱ πόλεις αὐτῶν, τί ἐγένετο; οἱ μὲν κα- 43  
τάπτυστοι Θετταλοὶ καὶ ἀναίσθητοι Θηβαῖοι φίλον,  
εὐεργέτην, σωτήρα τὸν Φίλιππον ἡγοῦντο· πάντ'  
ἐκείνος ἦν αὐτοῖς· οὐδὲ φωνὴν ἤκουον εἴ τις ἄλλο τι  
βούλοιο λέγειν. ὑμεῖς δ' ὑφορώμενοι τὰ πεπραγ- 5  
μένα καὶ δυσχεραίνοντες ἤγετε τὴν εἰρήνην ὁμῶς·  
οὐ γὰρ ἦν ὅ τι ἂν ἐποιεῖτε. καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι δ' Ἕλληνες,  
ὁμοίως ὑμῖν πεφenaκισμένοι καὶ διημαρτηκότες ὧν  
ἤλπισαν, ἦγον τὴν εἰρήνην [ἄσμενοι, καὶ] αὐτοὶ τρό-

after his destruction of Thebes in 335 B.C.; Aeschines was not. See Grote XII. 59—62.

§§ 42—49. After the digression in § 41, the orator here speaks of the disastrous consequences which have come from the peace and from the corruption by which it was made, and of the miserable fate of most of the traitors in Greece who aided Philip in his schemes.

§ 42. 5. ἐπειδὴ here has three pluperfects, while commonly it has the less precise aorist, as in §§ 25<sup>1</sup>, 32<sup>1</sup> (M.T. 59). So in Latin *postquam venit* is more common than *postquam venerat*. Both ἐπειδὴ and *postquam* contain the idea of *after that*, which the plpf. only emphasizes.

6. διὰ τούτων τῶν.....μισθωσάντων (i.e. οἱ ἐμισθωσαν): contrast διὰ τούτων οὐχὶ πεισθέντας, § 32<sup>2</sup>, and see note.

§ 43. 2. ἀναίσθητοι: see note on § 35<sup>10</sup>.

3. πάντ' ἐκείνος ἦν: cf. πάντ' ἦν Ἀλέξανδρος, XXXIII. 120; Εὐβοία αὐτοῖς πάντα ἦν, Thuc. VIII. 95; Demetrius iis unus omnia est, Liv. XI. 11.

4. οὐδὲ...βούλοιο (M.T. 462): ἤκουον is strongly frequentative, like ἡγοῦντο (3), and ἄλλο τι is anything opposed to φίλον, εὐεργέτην, σωτήρα.

5. ὑφορώμενοι, *viewing with suspicion* (ὕπο like *sub* in *suspicio*).

7. οὐ...ἐποιεῖτε: most mss. (but not Σ) add *μόνοι*. This passage represents the state of mind in which Demosthenes delivered his speech on the Peace (v.) in 346 B.C. See Hist. § 40.

9. [ἄσμενοι, καὶ]: Σ and the newly found Oxyrhynchus papyrus (2nd cent. A.D.) omit these words.—αὐτοὶ...πολεμούμενοι, *though they themselves in a certain way had been warred*

πον τιν' ἐκ πολλοῦ πολεμούμενοι. ὅτε γὰρ περιῶν 44  
 Φίλιππος Ἰλλυριοὺς καὶ Τριβαλλοὺς, τινὰς δὲ καὶ  
 τῶν Ἑλλήνων κατεστρέφετο, καὶ δυνάμεις πολλὰς  
 καὶ μεγάλας ἐποιεῖθ' ὑφ' ἑαυτῶ, καὶ τινες τῶν ἐκ  
 τῶν πόλεων ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς εἰρήνης ἐξουσίᾳ βαδίζοντες 5  
 ἐκείσε διεφθείροντο, ὧν εἷς οὗτος ἦν, τότε πάντες  
 ἐφ' ὧς ταῦτα παρεσκευάζετ' ἐκείνος ἐπολεμοῦντο.  
 εἰ δὲ μὴ ᾗσθάνοντο, ἕτερος λόγος οὗτος, οὐ πρὸς ἐμέ.  
 ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ προῦλεγον καὶ διεμαρτυρόμην καὶ παρ' 45  
 ὑμῖν αἰεὶ καὶ ὅποι πεμφθείην· αἱ δὲ πόλεις ἐνόσουν,  
 τῶν μὲν ἐν τῷ πολιτεύεσθαι καὶ πράττειν δωρο-  
 δοκούντων καὶ διαφθειρομένων ἐπὶ χρήμασι, τῶν δ'  
 ἰδιωτῶν καὶ πολλῶν τὰ μὲν οὐ προορωμένων, τὰ δὲ 5

against for a long time: πολεμούμενοι (impf.) is past to ἦγον, which covers the whole time of the peace to 340 B.C. See ἐπολεμοῦντο, § 44<sup>1</sup>.

§ 44. 2. Ἰλλυριοὺς καὶ Τριβαλλοὺς: Diodorus (xvi. 69) mentions a victorious inroad of Philip into Illyria in 344 B.C., and Torphyrius Tyr. (Müller, Hist. Gr. III. p. 691) says of Philip, οὗτος τοὺς περὶ τὴν χώραν ἀπαντας ἐδουλώσατο πολεμίους, μεγάλην κτησάμενος δύναμιν, καὶ Τριβαλλοὺς ὑποτάξας.

3. Ἑλλήνων: see Grote xi. 612—614, and Hist. §§ 41, 46—49.—δυνάμεις, like our *forces*, but including allies (even without troops): see § 234<sup>1</sup>.

4. τῶν ἐκ τῶν πόλεων: he counts Aesch. as one of those who took advantage of the peace to visit Macedonia, implying that the process of corruption was still going on. In XIX. 13 he says he first discovered the corruption of Aesch. on the return of the first embassy in the spring of 346 B.C.

8. ἕτερος λόγος οὗτος, *this is another matter*: cf. ἄλλος ἂν εἴη λόγος οὗτος, IX. 16: ἄλλος ἂν ᾗν λόγος, [XIII.] 7.

§ 45. 1. διεμαρτυρόμην, *protested* (called Gods and men to witness): cf. *obtestor*. See § 199<sup>6</sup>.—παρ' ὑμῖν probably refers to orations VI., VIII. and IX.

2. ὅποι πεμφθείην, *whithersoever I was sent*, referring to the embassies mentioned in § 244 (below) and probably to others. In § 244<sup>4</sup> we have ὅποι ἐπέμφθην, referring to some of the same embassies as ὅποι πεμφθείην here. But there the leading clause, οὐδαμοῦ... ἀπῆλθον, is particular, and its verb is aorist, not imperfect (as here); the relative clause is therefore particular and has the indicative regularly (M.T. 536). If he had said *I always came off superior* in § 244<sup>4</sup>, we should have ὅποι πεμφθείην there: see ἐν οἷς κρατηθεῖεν... κατεστρέφετο, § 244<sup>9</sup>.—ἐνόσουν: Demosth. is especially fond of this figure of a diseased state: see II. 21; IX. 12, 39, 50; XIX. 259 (West.).

3. τῶν... πράττειν (one substantive): cf. § 11<sup>2,3</sup> and note on § 4<sup>6</sup>.

4. ἐπὶ χρήμασι, *for (with a view to) money*; not *by money*, like ὑπὸ χρημάτων.

5. ἰδιωτῶν: here opposed to τῶν...

τῇ καθ' ἡμέραν ῥαστώνῃ καὶ σχολῇ δελεαζομένων, καὶ τοιουτοῦ τι πάθος πεπονθότων ἀπάντων, πλὴν οὐκ ἐφ' ἑαυτοὺς ἐκάστων οἰομένων τὸ δεινὸν ἦξιεν καὶ διὰ τῶν ἑτέρων κινδύνων τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἀσφαλῶς σχήσειν ὅταν βούλωνται. εἴτ' οἶμαι συμβέβηκε 46 τοῖς μὲν πλήθεσιν ἀντὶ τῆς πολλῆς καὶ ἀκαίρου ῥαθυμίας τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀπολωλέκенаι, τοῖς δὲ προέστηκόσιν καὶ τᾶλλα πλὴν ἑαυτοὺς οἰομένοις πῶλεῖν πρώτους ἑαυτοὺς πεπρακόσιν αἰσθῆσθαι. 5 ἀντὶ γὰρ φίλων καὶ ξένων, ἃ τότε ὠνομάζοντο ἡνίκ' ἐδωροδόκουν, νῦν κόλακες καὶ θεοῖς ἐχθροὶ καὶ τᾶλλ' ἃ προσήκει πάντ' ἀκούουσιν. οὐδεὶς γὰρ, ἄνδρες 47 Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸ τοῦ προδιδόντος συμφέρον ζητῶν χρήματ' ἀναλίσκει, οὐδ' ἐπειδὰν ὦν ἂν πρὶνται κύριος γένηται τῷ προδότῃ συμβούλῳ περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἔτι χρήται. οὐδὲν γὰρ ἂν ἦν εὐδαιμονέστε- 5 ρον προδότου. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα. πόθεν; πολλοὺ γε καὶ δεῖ. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὰν τῶν πραγμάτων ἐγκρατὴς ὁ ζητῶν ἄρχειν καταστῇ, καὶ τῶν ταῦτα ἀποδομένων

πράττειν (3), *private citizens*; generally, any men who are not of a given class, as *not senators*, XIX. 18; cf. *πατὴρ καὶ ἰδιώτης*, Thuc. II. 48.

6. *δελεαζομένων*, *caught*, as by a bait (*δέλεαρ*).

7. *τοιουτοῦ...πεπονθότων* is explained by *ἐκάστων οἰομένων κ.τ.λ.*—*πλὴν οὐκ ἐφ' ἑαυτοὺς*, *upon all but themselves*.

9. *τῶν ἑτέρων κινδύνων*, *others' (not other) dangers*.

§ 46. 2. *τοῖς μὲν πλήθεσιν*, *the common people* (cf. *τῶν πολλῶν*, § 45<sup>5</sup>) in various states: cf. *τῶν μὲν...τῶν δὲ* in § 45<sup>3, 4</sup>.

3, 5. *ἀπολωλέκенаι* (M.T. 109): i.e. the result has been that they *have lost* their liberty; the idea of the perfect in the next clause appears more

naturally in *πεπρακόσιν* (5) than in *αἰσθῆσθαι*, *to find out that they have sold themselves first* (M.T. 904). For the case of *πεπρακόσιν* see G. 928<sup>1</sup>.

8. *ἀκούουσιν*, *audient, they hear themselves called*: cf. Hor. Ep. I. 16, 17, *si curas esse quod audis*.

§ 47. 3. *ἐπειδὰν...γένηται*, *after he has become master of what he has bought* (M.T. 90). For the assimilation of *ὦν ἂν πρὶνται*, which really conditions *κύριος γένηται*, see M.T. 563.

5. *οὐδὲν...προδότου*, *for (otherwise) nothing would be happier than a traitor*.

6. *πόθεν;...δεῖ*: cf. §§ 52<sup>2</sup>, 140<sup>9</sup>, and *πῶς γὰρ*; § 312<sup>7</sup>.

8. *καὶ*, *also*, with *τῶν ἀποδομένων*.

δεσπότης ἐστὶ, τὴν δὲ πονηρίαν εἰδὼς τότε δὴ, τότε  
καὶ μισεῖ καὶ ἀπιστεῖ καὶ προπηλακίζει. σκοπεῖτε 48  
δέ· καὶ γὰρ εἰ παρελήλυθεν ὁ τῶν πραγμάτων  
καιρὸς ὁ τοῦ γ' εἰδέναι τὰ τοιαῦτα καιρὸς ἀεὶ  
πάρεστι τοῖς εὐφρονούσι. μέχρι τούτου Λασθένης  
φίλος ὠνομάζετο, ἕως προὔδωκεν Ὀλυνθον· μέχρι 5  
τούτου Τιμόλας, ἕως ἀπώλεσε Θήβας· μέχρι τούτου  
Εὐδίκος καὶ Σίμος ὁ Λαρισαῖος, ἕως Θετταλίαν ὑπὸ  
Φιλίππῳ ἐποίησαν. εἰτ' ἐλαυνομένων καὶ ὑβρίζο-  
242 μένων καὶ τί κακὸν οὐχὶ πασχόντων πᾶς ἡ οἰκου-  
μένη μεστὴ γέγονεν. τί δ' Ἀρίστρατος ἐν Σικυῶνι, 10  
καὶ τί Πέριλλος ἐν Μεγάρῳ; οὐκ ἀπερριμμένοι;  
ἐξ ὧν καὶ σαφέστατ' ἂν τις ἴδοι ὅτι ὁ μάλιστα 49  
φυλάττων τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδα καὶ πλείστ' ἀντιλέ-  
γων τούτοις, οὗτος ὑμῖν, Αἰσχίνη, τοῖς προδιδούσι  
καὶ μισθαρνοῦσι τὸ ἔχειν ἐφ' ὧν δωροδοκῆσετε

§ 48. 4. *μέχρι τούτου* with *ἕως*, twice repeated. See *πολλὰ* in § 81<sup>2, 8</sup>; cf. *οὐχ* in § 250<sup>10, 11</sup> and 322<sup>1-3</sup>. Expressions like this show the relative character of *ἕως* and other particles meaning *until*. (M.T. 611, 612.)—**Λασθένης**: Lasthenes and Euthycrates are often mentioned as traitors who betrayed Olynthus to Philip: see Plut. Mor. p. 178 B: τῶν δὲ περὶ Λασθένην τὸν Ὀλύνθιον ἐγκαλούντων καὶ ἀγανακτούντων ὅτι προδότας αὐτοὺς ἔνιοι τῶν περὶ τὸν Φίλιππον ἀποκαλοῦσι, σκαίους ἔφη (sc. Φίλιππος) φύσει καὶ ἀγροίκους εἶναι Μακεδόνας καὶ τὴν σκαφὴν σκαφὴν λέγοντας, i.e. they called a spade a spade.

6. **Τιμόλας**: Timolaus was a Theban, who was probably active in causing the surrender of Thebes to Philip after Chaeronea. Theopompus calls him the greatest voluptuary who was ever engaged in state affairs. See § 295<sup>16</sup>.

7. **Σίμος**: Simus belonged to the

Thessalian house of the Aleuadae at Larissa, who called in Philip against the tyrants of Pherae in 352 B.C. See Hist. § 5. Eudicus is not otherwise known.

9. *τί κακὸν οὐχὶ πασχόντων* = οὐδὲν κακὸν οὐχὶ (i.e. πάντα κακά) πασχόντων.—*πᾶς ἡ οἰκουμένη* is properly *the whole habitable world*, i.e. *the Greek world*; as in Ev. Luc. ii. 1 it is *the whole Roman world*. But here it is merely a loose expression with no special limit. We should say, "all the world is full of these wretches."

10. **Ἀρίστρατος**, a tyrant of Sicyon.

11. **Πέριλλος**, of Megara: see XIX. 295. Perillus and Aristratus are in the "black-list" of Cor. § 295. For Philip's intrigues in Megara see Grote xi. 613, 621.

§ 49. 4. *τὸ ἔχειν... περιποιεῖ*, *secures for you your opportunities for being bribed* (the wherewithal to be bribed).

περιποιεῖ, καὶ διὰ τοὺς πολλοὺς τούτων καὶ τοὺς 5  
ἀνθισταμένους τοῖς ὑμετέροις βουλήμασιν ὑμεῖς ἐστε  
σῶοι καὶ ἔμμισθοι, ἐπεὶ διὰ γε ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς πάλαι ἂν  
ἀπωλώλιτε.

Καὶ περὶ μὲν τῶν τότε πραχθέντων ἔχων ἔτι 50  
πολλὰ λέγειν, καὶ ταῦτα ἡγοῦμαι πλείω τῶν ἱκανῶν  
εἰρησθαι. αἴτιος δ' οὗτος, ὥσπερ ἐωλοκρασίαν τινα  
μου τῆς πονηρίας τῆς ἐαυτοῦ [καὶ τῶν ἀδικημάτων]  
κατασκεδάσας, ἦν ἀναγκαῖον ἦν πρὸς τοὺς νεωτέρους 5  
τῶν πεπραγμένων ἀπολύσασθαι. παρηνώχλησθε δ'  
ἴσως οἱ καὶ πρὶν ἐμὲ εἰπεῖν ὅτι οὐκ εἰδότες τὴν τούτου  
τότε μισθαρνίαν. καίτοι φιλίαν γε καὶ ξενίαν αὐτὴν 51  
ὀνομάζει, καὶ νῦν εἶπέ που λέγων, ὁ τὴν Ἀλεξάν-  
δρου ξενίαν ὀνειδίζων ἐμοί. ἐγὼ σοι ξενίαν

6. ἐστε σῶοι καὶ ἔμμισθοι, i.e. *you survive to be venal*.

7. διὰ... αὐτοὺς, *if you were left to yourselves* (M.T. 472). The orator surprises his audience by this original reason why the Athenian traitors have been saved from the fate of traitors in other states, i.e. the honest citizens thwart their schemes and thus save them from the ruin of success. This brilliant attack is followed up sharply in what follows.

§§ 50—52: the peroration to the argument on the Peace of Philocrates.

§ 50. 1. τῶν τότε πραχθέντων, i.e. the transactions concerning the peace. This suggestion that he will drop the subject makes this sudden recurrence to the charge of venality all the more effective.

3. αἴτιος, i.e. of my speaking *πλείω τῶν ἱκανῶν*.—ὥσπερ, *as it were* (M.T. 867), with *ἐωλοκρασίαν*, not with *κατασκεδάσας*.—*ἐωλοκρασίαν*, a mixture of stale drugs, lit. a mixture of the refuse (esp. *heel-taps*) of last night's feast (*ἔωλα*, *hesternae*). This burst of indignation refers especially

to the audacity of Aeschines (III. 60) in charging Demosthenes with the same coöperation with Philocrates in making the peace which he had once claimed for himself as a merit (I. 174). See § 17<sup>b</sup> (above). Demosthenes calls this treatment "deluging me with the stale refuse of his own villainy."

4. [καὶ τῶν ἀδικημάτων] is in all MSS., but is omitted in many ancient quotations of the passage.

5. νεωτέρους: the youngest judges present might have been only fourteen years old in 346 B.C.

6. ἀπολύσασθαι, *to clear myself of*: see Thuc. VIII. 87, ἀπαλβεσθαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὰς διαβολάς.—παρηνώχλησθε: addressed to the older judges (cf. ἐνοχλεῖ, § 4<sup>b</sup>).

§ 51. 1. φιλίαν, ξενίαν, properly *friendship* and *guest-friendship*, here seem to be used with little thought of the distinction. Cf. ξενίαν Ἀλεξάνδρου (3) and οὐτὲ Φιλ. ξένον οὐτὲ Ἀλεξ. φίλον (below).

2. εἶπε λέγων: cf. εἶπε φωνῶν, Aeschyl. Ag. 205, "*spoke, saying*."

3. ὀνειδίζων: Aesch. had said (66),

Ἀλεξάνδρου; πόθεν λαβόντι ἢ τῶς ἀξιωθέντι; οὔτε  
 Φιλίππου ξένον οὐτ' Ἀλεξάνδρου φίλον εἵποιμ' ἂν 5  
 ἐγὼ σε, (οὐχ οὕτω μαίνομαι,) εἰ μὴ καὶ τοὺς θεριστὰς  
 καὶ τοὺς ἄλλο τι μισθοῦ πράττοντας, φίλους καὶ  
 ξένους δεῖ καλεῖν τῶν μισθωσαμένων. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστι 52  
 ταῦτα· πόθεν; πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ. ἀλλὰ μισθωτὸν  
 ἐγὼ σε Φιλίππου πρότερον, καὶ νῦν Ἀλεξάνδρου  
 καλῶ, καὶ οὗτοι πάντες. εἰ δ' ἀπιστεῖς, ἐρώτησον  
 αὐτούς· μᾶλλον δ' ἐγὼ τοῦθ' ὑπὲρ σοῦ ποιήσω. 5  
 243 πρότερον ὑμῖν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δοκεῖ μισθωτὸς  
 Αἰσχίνης, ἢ ξένος εἶναι Ἀλεξάνδρου; ἀκούεις ἃ  
 λέγουσιν.

Βούλομαι τοίνυν ἤδη καὶ περὶ τῆς γραφῆς αὐτῆς 53  
 ἀπολογήσασθαι, καὶ διεξελθεῖν τὰ πεπραγμέν' ἐμαντῶ,  
 ἵνα, καίπερ εἰδὼς Αἰσχίνης ὅμως ἀκούσῃ δι' ἃ φημι

ὁ τὴν ξενίαν ἐμοὶ προφέρων τὴν  
 Ἀλεξάνδρου.

4. πόθεν...ἀξιωθέντι; with dramatic energy for πόθεν ἔλαβες ἢ πῶς ἠξιώθης; cf. § 128<sup>3</sup>.

6. θεριστὰς, reapers, properly *extra farm-hands*, called in at the harvest.

§ 52. 4. οὗτοι πάντες probably included both court and audience.

6. μισθωτὸς: most MSS. (Σ only by correction) read μισθωτος, following the absurd story of Ulpian (see Schol.), that Demosth. pronounced this word μισθωτος to make the judges correct his accent by shouting out the

very word μισθωτός which he wanted to hear. It is much more likely—indeed, it is certain—that he saw by the faces of his hearers that it was safe for him to put this question boldly; and he was probably greeted by an overwhelming shout of μισθωτός, μισθωτός, from both court and audience. The judges, more than four-fifths of whom voted in a few hours to acquit Ctesiphon and to condemn Aeschines to a fine and ἀτιμία, were by this time ready to respond to such a sudden appeal, after listening to this most conclusive argument with its brilliant close.

§§ 53—125. Having finished his reply to the charges foreign to the indictment, he now proceeds to the indictment itself. We have (1) an introduction (§§ 53—59), (2) a discussion of his public life (§§ 60—109), (3) a reply to the charge that the

orator was ὑπεύθυνος when it was proposed to crown him (§§ 110—119), (4) a defence of the proposal to crown him in the theatre (§§ 120, 121), and (5) a conclusion (§§ 122—125).

§§ 53—59. Introduction, including the reading of the indictment.

καὶ τούτων τῶν προβεβουλευμένων, καὶ πολλῷ μει-  
ζόνων ἔτι τούτων δωρεῶν, δίκαιος εἶναι τυγχάνειν. 5  
καὶ μοι λέγε τὴν γραφὴν αὐτὴν λαβών.

## ΓΡΑΦΗ.

54

[Ἐπὶ Χαιρώνδου ἄρχοντος, ἐλαφηβολιώνος ἔκτη ἰστα-  
μένου, Αἰσχίνης Ἀτρομήτου Κοθωκίδης ἀπήνεγκε πρὸς τὸν  
ἄρχοντα παρανόμων κατὰ Κτησιφώντος τοῦ Λεωσθένους  
Ἀναφλυστίου, ὅτι ἔγραψε παράνομον ψήφισμα, ὡς ἄρα δεῖ 5  
στεφανῶσαι Δημοσθένην Δημοσθένους Παιανιέα χρυσῷ στε-  
φάνῳ, καὶ ἀναγορεῦσαι ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ Διονυσίοις τοῖς μεγάλοις,  
τραγωδοῖς καινοῖς, ὅτι στεφανοὶ ὁ δῆμος Δημοσθένην Δημο-  
σθένους Παιανιέα χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα, καὶ εὐνοίας ἧς  
ἔχων διατελεῖ εἰς τε τοὺς Ἑλλήνας ἅπαντας καὶ τὸν δῆμον 10  
τὸν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ ἀνδραγαθίας, καὶ διότι διατελεῖ πράττων  
καὶ λέγων τὰ βέλτιστα τῷ δῆμῳ καὶ πρόθυμός ἐστι ποιεῖν  
ὃ τι ἂν δύνηται ἀγαθόν, πάντα ταῦτα ψευδῇ γράψας καὶ 55  
παράνομα, τῶν νόμων οὐκ ἑώντων πρῶτον μὲν ψευδεῖς γραφὰς  
εἰς τὰ δημόσια γράμματα καταβάλλεσθαι, εἶτα τὸν ὑπεύθυνον  
στεφανοῦν (ἔστι δὲ Δημοσθένης τειχοποιὸς καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ θεω-  
ρικῷ τεταγμένος), ἔτι δὲ μὴ ἀναγορεύειν τὸν στέφανον ἐν 5  
244 τῷ θεάτρῳ Διονυσίοις τραγῳδῶν τῇ καινῇ, ἀλλ' ἐὰν μὲν ἡ  
βουλὴ στεφανοὶ, ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ ἀνειπεῖν, ἐὰν δὲ ἡ πόλις,  
ἐν Πυκνὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ. τίμημα τάλαντα πεντήκοντα.

§ 53. 4. τῶν προβεβουλευμένων (pass.), strictly accurate for the provisions of the προβούλεμα of Ctesiphon, which had passed only the Senate. The corresponding phrase for the items of a ψήφισμα would be τῶν ἐψηφισμένων. Cf. τῶν γεγραμμένων, § 56<sup>4</sup>.

5. δίκαιος εἶναι, that I deserve: personal use of δίκαιος (M.T. 762).

§§ 54, 55. This spurious document once passed for the "single undoubtedly genuine Athenian indictment." Chaerondas was archon in

338—337 B.C.; but the indictment was brought in the spring of 336. The γραφὴ παρανόμων came before the θεσμοθέται, not before the Chief Archon.

The expression τραγωδοῖς καινοῖς, § 54<sup>8</sup>, on the day of the new tragedians, i.e. when new tragedies were performed, is confirmed by τοῖς τραγωδοῖς, Aesch. III. 45. In § 55<sup>6</sup> τραγῳδῶν τῇ καινῇ is probably corrupt.

See note on the spurious προβούλεμα of Ctesiphon in § 118.

κλητῆρες Κηφισοφῶν Κηφισοφῶντος Ῥαμνούσιος, Κλέων  
Κλέωνος Κοθωκίδης.]

10

Ἄ μὲν διώκει τοῦ ψηφίσματος, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθη- 56  
ναῖοι, ταῦτ' ἐστίν. ἐγὼ δ' ἀπ' αὐτῶν τούτων, πρῶτον  
οἶμαι δῆλον ὑμῖν ποιήσκειν, ὅτι πάντα δικαίως ἀπολο-  
γῆσομαι· τὴν γὰρ αὐτὴν τούτῳ ποιησάμενος τῶν  
γεγραμμένων τάξιν, περὶ πάντων ἐρῶ καθ' ἕκαστον 5  
ἐφεξῆς, καὶ οὐδὲν ἐκὼν παραλείψω. τοῦ μὲν οὖν 57  
γράφαι πράττοντα καὶ λέγοντα τὰ βέλτιστά με τῷ  
δῆμῳ διατελείν, καὶ πρόθυμόν εἶναι ποιεῖν ὃ τι δύνα-  
μαι ἀγαθόν, καὶ ἐπαινεῖν ἐπὶ τούτοις, ἐν τοῖς πεπολι-  
τευμένοις τὴν κρίσιν εἶναι νομίζω· ἀπὸ γὰρ τούτων 5  
ἐξεταζομένων εὔρεθήσεται, εἴτ' ἀληθῆ περὶ ἐμοῦ  
γέγραφε Κτησιφῶν ταῦτα καὶ προσήκοντα, εἴτε καὶ

§ 56. 1. Ἄ μὲν διώκει: the passages of the decree quoted in the indictment are all that are accused of illegality.

3. πάντα δικαίως ἀπολογῆσομαι: this is a sarcastic allusion to the demand of Aesch. (202) that the court compel Demosth., if he is allowed to speak at all, to follow his opponent's order of argument: ἀξιώσατε τὸν Δημοσθένην τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἀπολογεῖσθαι ὃν περὶ καὶ ἐγὼ κατηγορήκα. See note on § 2<sup>6</sup>. It happens that Aesch. states the charges in the indictment in the order in which Demosth. wishes to reply to them, just the order which Aesch. is anxious to prevent him from following: in his speech he has followed an entirely different order. See Essay I. § 4.

4. τῶν γεγραμμένων (pass.), of the items of the indictment: see note on § 53<sup>4</sup>. γέγραμμαι and ἐγράφην may be used as passives of both γράφω, propose (a bill), and γράφομαι, indict: see δικαίως γεγραμμένα, XXIII. 101, φ' γέγραπται, *ibid.* 18; τὰ γραφέντα, the proposed measures, Cor. § 86<sup>4</sup>; οὐδὲ

γραφέντα, *not even indicted*, § 222<sup>8</sup>. But γέγραμμαι is generally middle (seldom passive, as here) of γράφομαι, *indict*: see § 59<sup>6</sup>, γεγραμμένος ταῦτα: cf. γέγραψαι, § 119<sup>2</sup>.

5. καθ' ἕκαστον ἐφεξῆς: by taking up each point in the order of the indictment, he will ensure completeness in his defence. The same sarcasm is kept up.

§ 57. 1. τοῦ γράφαι...καὶ ἐπαινεῖν (sc. Κτησιφῶντα) depends on τὴν κρίσιν (5). πράττοντα...ἀγαθόν (2—4) is in substance quoted from the decree: cf. § 59<sup>4</sup>. Aesch. (III. 49) professes to quote the exact words, ὅτι διατελεῖ καὶ λέγων καὶ πράττων τὰ δριστα τῷ δῆμῳ: cf. other references in Aesch. 101, 237.

4. ἐπαινεῖν: see § 113<sup>3</sup> and note.  
6—8. ἀληθῆ, προσήκοντα, and ψευδῆ are predicates to ταῦτα (sc. *δντα*).—εἴτε καὶ ψευδῆ: *καὶ, on the other hand* (perhaps untranslatable), expresses parallelism with ἀληθῆ: cf. εἴτε καὶ μή, § 58<sup>5</sup>. See note on καὶ before διεκωλύθη, § 60<sup>4</sup>.

ψευδῇ· τὸ δὲ μὴ προσγράψαντα ἐπειδὰν τὰς 58  
 εὐθύνας δῶ, στεφανοῦν καὶ ἀνειπεῖν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ  
 τὸν στέφανον κελεύσαι, κοινῶν μὲν ἡγοῦμαι καὶ  
 τοῦτο τοῖς πεπολιτευμένοις, εἴτ' ἀξίός εἰμι τοῦ  
 στεφάνου καὶ τῆς ἀναρρήσεως τῆς ἐν τούτοις, εἴτε 5  
 καὶ μὴ· ἔτι μέντοι καὶ τοὺς νόμους δεικτέον εἶναι  
 μοι δοκεῖ καθ' οὓς ταῦτα γράφειν ἐξῆν τούτῳ.  
 οὕτως μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δικαίως καὶ ἀπλῶς  
 τὴν ἀπολογία ἐγνώκα ποιείσθαι, βαδιῶμαι δ' ἐπ'  
 αὐτὰ ἃ πέπρακται μοι. καὶ με μηδεὶς ὑπολάβῃ 59  
 ἀπαρτᾶν τὸν λόγον τῆς γραφῆς, ἐὰν εἰς Ἑλληνικὰς  
 πράξεις καὶ λόγους ἐμπέσω· ὁ γὰρ διώκων τοῦ  
 245 ψηφίσματος τὸ λέγειν καὶ πράττειν τὰ ἄριστα με,  
 καὶ γεγραμμένος ταῦθ' ὥς οὐκ ἀληθῆ, οὗτός ἐστιν 5  
 ὁ τοὺς περὶ πάντων τῶν ἐμοὶ πεπολιτευμένων  
 λόγους, οἰκείους καὶ ἀναγκαίους τῇ γραφῇ πεποιηκώς.  
 εἴτα καὶ πολλῶν προαιρέσεων οὓσων τῆς πολιτείας,

§ 58. 1. τὸ...κελεύσαι (3), *the bidding me (in his decree) to be crowned...and the crown to be proclaimed in the theatre* (στεφανοῦν and ἀνειπεῖν in the usual active form): this clause is repeated in τοῦτο (4) as subject of κοινῶν.—μὴ προσγράψαντα...δῶ: Aesch. makes it a special act of shamelessness in Ctesiphon (see II, 12) to omit this saving clause. It was frequently added in such decrees: see C. Att. II. no. 114 (343 B.C.), στεφανῶσαι χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ ἐπειδὰν τὰς εὐθύνας δῶ. This proviso, according to Aesch. (12), did not make the decree legal, though it showed a sense of shame in the mover.

3. κοινῶν...πεπολιτευμένοις, εἴτ'...καὶ μὴ (6), lit. *I think this too is concerned with my public acts, (namely with the question) whether I deserve the crown etc. or not.* The loose relation of εἴτ' ἀξίός εἰμι κ.τ.λ.

τοῖς πεπολιτευμένοις, which it explains, is permissible after the full form in § 57<sup>1-6</sup>; without this it would be obscure.

5. ἐν τούτοις: i.e. *before the people* (in the theatre).

6. τοὺς νόμους: the arguments are given in §§ 110—121.—δεικτέον εἶναι = δεικνύναι δεῖν.

9. βαδιῶμαι, *I will proceed* (cf. 4<sup>7</sup>).

§ 59. 2. Ἑλληνικὰς...λόγους, i.e. *a discussion of our foreign policy, i.e. our relations to other Greek states.* See note on οἰκείων, Ἑλληνικῶν, and ξενικῶν, § 311<sup>6</sup>. Demosthenes selected foreign affairs as his special department: see § 62<sup>6</sup>.

3. τοῦ ψηφίσματος, depending on τὸ λέγειν...με, i.e. *the clause declaring etc.*

5. γεγραμμένος (middle): see note on § 56<sup>4</sup>.

8. προαιρέσεων τῆς πολιτείας,

τὴν περὶ τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς πράξεις εἰλόμην ἐγὼ, ὥστε  
καὶ τὰς ἀποδείξεις ἐκ τούτων δίκαιός εἰμι ποιεῖσθαι. 10

Ἄ μὲν οὖν πρὸ τοῦ πολιτεύεσθαι καὶ δημηγο- 60  
ρεῖν ἐμὲ, προὔλαβε καὶ κατέσχε Φίλιππος, ἐάσω·  
οὐδὲν γὰρ ἡγοῦμαι τούτων εἶναι πρὸς ἐμέ· ἃ δ' ἀφ'  
ἧς ἡμέρας ἐπὶ ταῦτ' ἐπέστην ἐγὼ καὶ διεκωλύθη,  
ταῦτ' ἀναμνήσω καὶ τούτων ὑφέξω λόγον, τοσοῦτον 5  
ὑπειπὼν. πλεονέκτημα, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, μέγ' ὑπ-  
ῆρξε Φιλίππῳ. παρὰ γὰρ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, οὐ τισὶν, 61  
ἀλλ' ἅπασιν ὁμοίως, φορὰν προδοτῶν καὶ δωροδό-  
κων καὶ θεοῖς ἐχθρῶν ἀνθρώπων συνέβη γενέσθαι  
τοσαύτην, ὅσην οὐδεὶς πω πρότερον μέμνηται γε-  
γονυῖαν· οὗς συναγωνιστὰς καὶ συνεργοὺς λαβὼν 5  
καὶ πρότερον κακῶς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἔχοντας πρὸς

*departments of the government* (open to choice).

§§ 60—109. In this general defence of his public policy, (1) he defends his fixed principle of opposition to Philip's aggressions (§§ 60—72); (2) he speaks of the events which immediately preceded the outbreak of war with Philip in 340 B.C. (§§ 73—101), avoiding all mention of the later Amphisian war and the other events which led to the battle of Chaeronea; (3) he defends his trierarchic law (§§ 102—109).

§ 60. 1. πρὸ τοῦ πολιτεύεσθαι: the public life of Demosth. properly began with his speech on the Symmories in 354 B.C. (Hist. § 8); but his responsibility for the foreign policy of Athens began after the peace of 346 (§ 18<sup>2</sup>). Still, his fixed policy of opposing Philip, though unsuccessful at first, goes back at least to the First Philippic in 351; and he is here (§§ 60—72) defending his public life as a whole, seldom mentioning his special acts. He reserves these for a

later part of his argument (§§ 79—94, and after § 159).

2. προὔλαβε and κατέσχε combined have the idea of *securing by being beforehand*.

4. καὶ διεκωλύθη: see note on καὶ in § 57<sup>7</sup>. καὶ expresses parallelism with προὔλαβε καὶ κατέσχε, and strengthens the antithesis between what Philip *did* before Dem. appeared and what he was *prevented from doing* afterwards. ἃ διεκωλύθη represents an active form ἃ αὐτὸν διεκώλυσα: no infinitive is understood.

5. τοσοῦτον ὑπειπὼν, *after promising the following*. Demosth. has no preference for the forms in -δε (e.g. τοσόνδε) in referring to what is to follow.

6. ὑπῆρξε: cf. ὑπάρξει μοι, § 1<sup>3</sup>. § 61. 2. φορὰν, *a crop*: see the list of this crop of traitors in § 295. For φορὰ, *rush*, see note on § 271<sup>6</sup>.

6. καὶ πρότερον... ἔχοντας = οἱ καὶ πρότερον κακῶς εἶχον, *impf. partic.* Cf. νοσοῦντας ἐν αὐτοῖς, IX. 50, and κακῶς διεκείμεθα, IX. 28. See §§ 45—49.

ἑαυτοὺς, καὶ στασιαστικῶς ἔτι χεῖρον διέθηκε, τοὺς  
 μὲν ἑξαπατῶν, τοῖς δὲ διδοὺς. τοὺς δὲ πάντα τρόπον  
 διαφθείρων, καὶ διέστησεν εἰς μέρη πολλὰ, ἐνὸς τοῦ  
 συμφέροντος ἅπασιν ὄντος, κωλύειν ἐκείνον μέγαν 10  
 γίγνεσθαι. ἐν τοιαύτῃ δὲ καταστάσει καὶ ἔτ' ἀγνοία 62  
 τοῦ συνισταμένου καὶ φυομένου κακοῦ τῶν ἀπάντων  
 Ἑλλήνων ὄντων, δεῖ σκοπεῖν ὑμᾶς, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,  
 τί προσήκον ἦν ἐλέσθαι πράττειν καὶ ποιεῖν τὴν  
 πόλιν, καὶ τούτων λόγον παρ' ἐμοῦ λαβεῖν· ὁ γὰρ 5  
 ἐνταῦθ' ἑαυτὸν τάξας τῆς πολιτείας εἴμ' ἐγώ. πότε- 63  
 246 ρον αὐτὴν ἐχρῆν, Αἰσχίνη, τὸ φρόνημ' ἀφείσαν καὶ  
 τὴν ἀξίαν τὴν αὐτῆς, ἐν τῇ Θετταλῶν καὶ Δολόπων  
 τάξει συγκατακταῖσθαι Φιλίππῳ τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων  
 ἀρχὴν καὶ τὰ τῶν προγόνων καλὰ καὶ δίκαι' ἀναι- 5

9. διέστησεν...πολλὰ: cf. [x.] 52, γεγόνασι καθ' αὐτοὺς ἕκαστοι, Ἀργεῖοι, Θηβαῖοι, Λακεδαιμόνιοι, Κορίνθιοι, Ἀρκάδες, ἡμεῖς. (Bl.)

10. κωλύειν: in apposition with ἐνὸς τοῦ συμφέροντος. An appositive infinitive generally has the article in the fully developed language.

§ 62. 1. ἔτ' ἀγνοία (sc. ἐν)... ὄντων=ἔτ' ἀγνοούντων, ἔτ' belonging in sense to ἀγνοία. Vömel: *quum adhuc ignorant* etc.

2. συνισταμένου: cf. VI. 35, ἔως... συνίσταται τὰ πράγματα.

4. πράττειν καὶ ποιεῖν: see § 4<sup>b</sup>. When these words do not have their proper distinction of *do* and *make*, they sometimes have no apparent distinction: see § 246<sup>b, 11</sup>, and IV. 5, οὐδὲν ἂν ὦν νυνὶ πεποίηκεν ἔπραξεν.

6. ἐνταῦθ'...τῆς πολιτείας: partitive. Cf. § 59<sup>8</sup>.

§ 63. 1. πότερον αὐτὴν ἐχρῆν... ἀναιρεῖν; *should she...have helped Philip to gain his dominion over the Greeks, and (so) have set at naught the glorious and just deeds of our*

*ancestors?* Here, and in *μὴ ποιεῖν* and *περιδεῖν* (also depending on *ἐχρῆν*), in *προσῆκε ποιεῖν* and *ἔδει λέγειν ἢ γράφειν* in § 66<sup>2, 4</sup>, in *ἐχρῆν ποιεῖν* in § 69<sup>8</sup>, and *φανῆναι ἐχρῆν* in § 71<sup>10-12</sup>, we have simply the ordinary use of the infinitive depending on a past verb expressing *duty* or *propriety*, with none of the idiomatic force by which (for example) *ἔδει σε ἐλθεῖν* often means *you ought to have gone (but did not go)*. These expressions are all repetitions or enlargements of *τί προσήκον ἦν* in § 62<sup>4</sup>, which obviously asks only *what was it right for Athens to do?* with no implied idea that she did or did not do the right thing. So in § 63<sup>1</sup> the question is simply *was it her duty to help Philip* etc.?

2. τὸ φρόνημα καὶ τὴν ἀξίαν, *her spirit and her dignity*.

3. ἐν...τάξει implies a descent to their level and serving in their ranks. The Thessalians helped Philip in the Amphissian war; the Dolopians are probably mentioned only to disparage the Thessalians further.

ρεῖν ; ἢ τοῦτο μὲν μὴ τιμῆν ἵκετον καὶ ὡς ἐλπίσκει.  
 ἃ δ' ἑώρα συμβεβηκότα εἰ μὴδὲς ἐκλάσσει ἐκ τήν-  
 σθανθ' ὡς ἔοικεν ἐκ πολλῶν. ταῦτα τελευτῶν γινώ-  
 μενα ; ἀλλὰ οὐν ἔφαγε τὴν μέλει ἐπιδιδόντι τις ἢ  
 πεπραγμένους ἡδέως αὐ ἐπιλαμβάνει. τίς τις μείζους  
 γενέσθαι τὴν πολλὴν ἐβόησε. ἰδ. ττρεῖσι τίς πολυ-  
 τίας τῶν συμβεβηκότων τις Ἐυκλείης ἐκείνου ἐκ  
 αἰσχρῶν, ἥ αὐ θεττάλους ἐκ τις μετὰ τοῦτο ;  
 εἴποι τις, ἢ τῆς περιπρακτικῆς ταῦτα γινώσκουσα ἐπ.  
 τῇ τῆς ἰδίας πλεονεξίας ἐπὶ τῇ ἥ αὐ Ἀρκιδίου ἐκ.  
 Μεσσηνίου καὶ Ἀργείους βεβαιώσ. αὐτὰ ἐκ τοῦτο ἔ-  
 πολλοὶ, μᾶλλον δὲ πάντες. χεῖρον ἢ αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦτο  
 καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὲν ὡς ἐκράτησε Φιλύππος ἔχει εἰδέναι  
 ἀπὸ τῶν, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ' ἦρεν ἡσυχίαν. αὐτὸς τῶν αὐτῶν  
 συμμάχων μήτε τῶν ἄλλων Ἐυκλείης ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ  
 λυπήσας, ἢν αὐ τις κατὰ τῶν ἐκπράττεσθαι οὐκ  
 ἔπραττεν ἐκείνος μέμφεις καὶ κατηγορίας. εἰ δὲ ὅτις  
 ἀπάντων τὸ ἀξίωμα. τὴν ἡγεμονίαν. τὴν ἐλευθερίαν  
 περιείλετο, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ τὰς πολιτείας. ὅσων

7. συμβεβηκότα εἰ μὴδὲς ἐκλάσσει :  
 Aesch. III. 90, δ' πρόδηλον ἦν ἐσ-  
 τον εἰ μὴ κωλύσετε. In b.c. we  
 ight have the future optative.

8. ταῦτα περιδεῖν γινώμενα, *to*  
 know these acts to go on; περιδεῖν  
 ἐνδμενα would be *to allow them to*  
*arise* (M.T. 148 and 903<sup>6</sup>).

§ 64. 1. νῦν, *now*, when the fight  
 or liberty is ended: τοῖς πεπραγμένοις  
 refers to the fight itself.—τὸν μάλιστα  
 τιμωρόντα, i.e. *the severest critic*.

3. γενέσθαι, *to join* (not *to belong*  
 to): cf. Ar. Nub. 107, τοῦτων γενοῦ  
 οἱ.

§ 65. 3. ὡς ἐκράτησε: i.e. at  
 haeronea. Philip treated Athens  
 ith great consideration after the  
 attle, restoring her 2000 prisoners  
 ithout ransom; but wreaked his

vengeance on Thebes as a former  
 ally and invader of p. nnesas.  
 Hist. § 64. αὐτὸς αὐτὸν ἔχει.—  
 ἔχει ἀπὸ τῶν, *and takes from*.

6. ἢν αὐ τις...κατηγορία, *if he*  
*might perhaps be some ground for*  
*blame and accusation etc.*; the older  
 editions have *ὅτις αὐ τις* and  
 κατὰ τῶν οὐκ ἐκπράττεσθαι, with an  
 entirely different meaning.

8. ἀξίωμα...ἡγεμονίαν...ἐλευθερίαν:  
 see XIX. 200, τοῦτο τὸ πράγμα (the  
 corruption of leading men by Philip)  
 Θεττάλων μὲν...τὴν ἡγεμονίαν καὶ τὸ  
 κοινὸν ἀξίωμα ἀπώλεσε, οὐν δ' ἤδη  
 καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν παραλείπει: τὰς  
 γὰρ ἀκροπόλεις αὐτῶν ἐλίων Μακεδόνες  
 φρουροῦσιν. For Euboea see § 71  
 (below).

9. πολιτείας, *five governments*.

ἐδύνατο, πῶς οὐχ ἀπάντων ἐνδοξότατα ὑμεῖς ἐβου- 1  
λεύσασθε ἐμοὶ πεισθέντες;

Ἄλλ' ἐκέισ' ἐπανέρχομαι. τί τὴν πόλιν, Αἰσχίνη, 6  
προσῆκε ποιεῖν ἀρχὴν καὶ τυραννίδα τῶν Ἑλλήνων  
ὁρώσαν ἑαυτῷ κατασκευαζόμενον Φίλιππον; ἢ τί  
247 τὸν σύμβουλον ἔδει λέγειν ἢ γράφειν τὸν Ἀθήνησιν  
(καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο πλείστον διαφέρει), ὃς συνῆδεν μὲν 5  
ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου μέχρι τῆς ἡμέρας ἀφ' ἧς αὐτὸς  
ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα ἀνέβην, αἰεὶ περὶ πρωτείων καὶ τιμῆς  
καὶ δόξης ἀγωνιζομένην τὴν πατρίδα, καὶ πλείω καὶ  
χρήματα καὶ σώματα ἀνηλωκυῖαν ὑπὲρ φιλοτιμίας  
καὶ τῶν πᾶσι συμφερόντων ἢ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων 1  
ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀνηλώκασιν ἕκαστοι, ἑώρων δ' αὐτὸν 6  
τὸν Φίλιππον (πρὸς δὲ ἣν ἡμῖν ὁ ἀγὼν) ὑπὲρ ἀρχῆς  
καὶ δυναστείας τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ἐκκεκομμένον, τὴν

See Arist. Pol. vi. (iv.) 8, 3, ἔστι γὰρ ἡ πολιτεία ὡς ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν μῆκισ ὀλιγαρχίας καὶ δημοκρατίας, εἰώθασιν δὲ καλεῖν τὰς μὲν ἀποκλινοῦσας ὡς πρὸς τὴν δημοκρατίαν πολιτείας, τὰς δὲ πρὸς τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν μᾶλλον ἀριστοκρατίας διὰ τὸ μᾶλλον ἀκολουθεῖν παιδείαν καὶ εὐγένειαν τοῖς εὐπορωτέροις.

10. ἀπάντων: partitive with ἐνδοξότατα, in the most glorious way possible. So εὐφημότατ' ἀνθρώπων in XIX. 50, ἀναισχυντότατ' ἀνθρώπων in XXVII. 18, δίκαιότατ' ἀνθρώπων in XXIX. 28.

§ 66. 1. ἐκέισ' ἐπανέρχομαι, I return to my question, i.e. after the digression in § 65.

2. προσῆκε ποιεῖν: see note on § 63<sup>1</sup>.

5. ὃς συνῆδεν: the antecedent, τὸν σύμβουλον, refers to the speaker, and most MSS. (not Σ and L<sup>1</sup>) insert ἐμέ after Ἀθήνησιν.

6. ἐκ... χρόνου: see § 203<sup>3</sup>.—ἀφ' ἧς, when (on which), strictly beginning with which, counting from which (as a date).

8. ἀγωνιζομένη: or. obl. affi συνῆδεν, like ἀνηλωκυῖαν (9); cf. ff participles after ἑώρων, § 67<sup>1</sup>.

9. χρήματα καὶ σώματα, mon and lives. With the lordly boast this passage compare the allusion Salamis in § 238.—φιλοτιμίας, li honour; properly love of honour, b often used like τιμῆ.

§ 67. 1. ἑώρων continues t construction of ὃς συνῆδεν (§ 66<sup>5</sup>).

2. ὑπὲρ...δυναστείας, contrast with ὑπὲρ...συμφερόντων in § 66 δύναστέα is properly a governme of force, not based on the popul will; see § 270<sup>6</sup>. Cf. Arist. Pol. (iv.) 5, 2. But Demosth. uses δυι στέας in § 322<sup>7</sup> of the power Athens. It is generally, however, odious term.

3. τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ἐκκεκομμένον, he had his eye knocked out, passive the active form ἐκκόπτει τις αὐτῷ ὀφθαλμόν, retaining the accus. of t thing. The following κατεαγότα passive in sense, and has the sai construction. Cf. ἀποτμηθέντες 1

κλείν κατεαγότα, τὴν χεῖρα, τὸ σκέλος πεπηρωμένον,  
 πᾶν ὃ τι βουλευθείη μέρος ἢ τύχη τοῦ σώματος 5  
 παρελέσθαι, τοῦτο προιέμενον, ὥστε τῷ λοιπῷ μετὰ  
 τιμῆς καὶ δόξης ζῆν; καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ τοῦτό γ' οὐδεὶς 68  
 ἂν εἰπεῖν τολμήσαι, ὡς τῷ μὲν ἐν Πέλλῃ τραφέντι,  
 (χωρὶς ἀδόξῳ τότε γ' ὄντι καὶ μικρῷ,) τοσαύτην  
 μεγαλοψυχίαν προσῆκέν ἐγγενέσθαι, ὥστε τῆς τῶν  
 Ἑλλήνων ἀρχῆς ἐπιθυμήσαι, καὶ τοῦτ' εἰς τὸν νοῦν 5  
 ἐμβαλέσθαι. ὑμῖν δ' οὖσιν Ἀθηναίοις, καὶ κατὰ τὴν  
 ἡμέραν ἐκάστην ἐν πᾶσι καὶ λόγοις καὶ θεωρήμασι  
 τῆς τῶν προγόνων ἀρετῆς ὑπομνήμαθ' ὀρώσι, τοσαύ-  
 την κακίαν ὑπάρξαι, ὥστε τῆς ἐλευθερίας αὐτεπαγ-  
 γέλτους ἐθέλοντας παραχωρῆσαι Φιλίππῳ. οὐδ' ἂν 10  
 εἰς ταῦτα φήσειεν. λοιπὸν τοῖνυν ἦν καὶ ἀναγκαῖον 69  
 ἅμα, πᾶσιν οἷς ἐκεῖνος ἔπραττεν ἀδικῶν, ὑμᾶς ἐναντι-  
 οὔσθαι δικαίως. τοῦτ' ἐποιεῖτε μὲν ὑμεῖς ἐξ ἀρχῆς

κεφαλᾶς, Xen. An. II. 6, 1, representing ἀπέτεμον αὐτοῖς τὰς κεφαλὰς (G. 1239, with examples).

6. προιέμενον, i.e. *always ready to sacrifice*, followed by ὃ τι βουλευθείη.

§ 68. 2. τολμήσαι (so Σ and L.): the form in -ειε is far more common in Demosthenes and in other Attic prose.—ἐν Πέλλῃ τραφέντι: cf. Hegesippus [Dem. VII.] 7, πρὸς τὸν ἐκ Πέλλης ὀρμώμενον, with the same sarcasm. Pella was a small place until Philip enlarged and adorned it. See Strab. VII. fr. 23: τὴν Πέλλαν οὖσαν μικρὰν πρότερον Φίλιππος εἰς μῆκος ἤρῃσε τραφεὶς ἐν αὐτῇ.

4. μεγαλοψυχίαν, *lofty aspirations*. Aristotle (Eth. IV. 3, 3) says of the μεγαλόψυχος, the *great-souled*, or *high-minded man*, δοκεῖ εἶναι ὁ μεγάλων ἑαυτὸν ἀξίων ἀξίος ὢν. Cf. μικροψυχίας, § 279<sup>6</sup>.

5. εἰς τὸν νοῦν ἐμβαλέσθαι: cf. our phrase *take it into his head*.

7. ἐν πᾶσι...θεωρήμασι, i.e. *in all*

that you hear and see: θεώρημα is very rare for θέαμα.

8. ὑπομνήμαθ' ὀρώσι, *beholding memorials*; ὀρώσι by a slight zeugma including λόγοις: cf. Aeschyl. Prom. 21 οὔτε φωνὴν οὔτε του μορφὴν βροτῶν ὄψει.

9. κακίαν: see note on § 20<sup>4</sup>.—ὑπάρξαι, like ἐγγενέσθαι (4), depends on προσῆκεν.—αὐτεπαγγέλτους ἐθέλοντας, as *self-offered volunteers*: cf. § 99<sup>11</sup>.

10. οὐδ' ἂν εἰς: see M.T. 219: οὐδ' εἰς (separated) = *ne unusquidem, not a man*.

§ 69. 1. ἀναγκαῖον ἅμα: cf. παρακαίον καὶ δίκαιον ἅμα, § 9<sup>6</sup>.

2. ἔπραττεν ἀδικῶν: in strong antithesis to ἐναντιοῦσθαι δικαίως.

3. ἐξ ἀρχῆς: this refers strictly only to the time of his own leadership (καθ' οὓς ἐπολιτευόμεν χρόνους). But he modestly and speciously appears to represent his own vigorous policy as a continuation of earlier energy. Yet

εἰκότως καὶ προσήκόντως, ἔγραφον δὲ καὶ σὺ  
 248 λεον καὶ ἐγὼ καθ' οὓς ἐπολιτευόμενοι χρόνους.  
 λογῶ. ἀλλὰ τί ἐχρῆν με ποιεῖν; ἤδη γὰρ σ' ἐ  
 πάντα τὰλλ' ἀφείς, Ἀμφίπολιν, Πύδναν, Ποτεῖ  
 Ἀλόννησον· οὐδενὸς τούτων μέμνημαι· Σέρρ  
 καὶ Δορίσκον καὶ τὴν Πεπαρήθου πόρθησιν κ  
 ἄλλ' ἢ πόλις ἡδικεῖτο, οὐδ' εἰ γέγονεν οἶδα.  
 σύ γ' ἔφησθ' ἡμεῖς ταῦτα λέγοντα εἰς ἔχθραν ἐμ  
 τουτουσὶ, Εὐβούλου καὶ Ἀριστοφάντος καὶ Δ  
 θους τῶν περὶ τούτων ψηφισμάτων ὄντων, οὐκ  
 ὧ λέγων εὐχερῶς ὅ τι ἂν βουλευθῆς. οὐδὲ νῦν  
 τούτων ἐρῶ. ἀλλ' ὁ τὴν Εὐβοίαν ἐκείνος σφει

when Philip was capturing Amphipolis, Pydna, and Potidaea, Athens was supinely inactive; but Demosthenes was not yet a responsible adviser. In §§ 18 and 60 he expressly disclaims all responsibility for these earlier times.

6. τί ἐχρῆν με ποιεῖν; see § 63<sup>1</sup>. — ἤδη σ' ἐρωτῶ: the third time of asking.

7. ἀφείς, *leaving out of account*: for Amphipolis, Pydna, and Potidaea, see Hist. § 3; for Halonnesus, Hist. §§ 44, 45, 53.

§ 70. 1. For Serrium and Doriscus see note on § 27<sup>6</sup>. For the sacking of Peparethus (in 341—340 B.C.) see Hist. § 53. ταύτην ἐπόρθησεν Ἀλκιμος ναύαρχος τοῦ Φιλίππου, Schol. The people of Peparethus, an ally of Athens, had taken Halonnesus from Philip and captured his garrison.

3. οὐδ' εἰ γέγονεν οἶδα: cf. XXI. 78, τοῦτον οὐδ' εἰ γέγονεν εἰδώς, *not being aware even of his existence*.

4. σύ γ' ἔφησθα: see Aesch. III. 82, ἀρχὰς αὐτοῖς ἐνεδίδου πόλεμον καὶ παραχῆς. — ταῦτα λέγοντα, i.e. *by everlastingly talking about these*.

5. Εὐβούλου καὶ Ἀριστοφάντος: in replying to Aeschines (as just

quoted) he is glad to be to decrees of his politics while there were none Eubulus, though he was of the peace party and all to Philip, might have decrees directing negotiations Philip about the towns Philip or the later affairs thus; and he might have one remonstrating against of Athenian ships (§ 73, spurious one in §§ 73,

7. οὐδέ... ἐρῶ: the third (cf. §§ 59<sup>7</sup>, 70<sup>8</sup>), in which impressively stated by doing it shall not be mentioned

71. 1. ἐκείνος: this allowed the demonstration of other qualifying word article: cf. ἡ στενὴ αὐτῇ An. IV. 2, 6. But even regular order may be kept **ζόμενος** (from σφέτερος) *ing, making his own, of unjust appropriation: σφετερίσασθαι, and Aesch. 39, λέκτρων σφετεριζάμε* The verb *spheterize* has been English by Sir William larger edition.

μενος καὶ κατασκευάζων ἐπιτείχισμ' ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν,  
καὶ Μεγάροις ἐπιχειρᾶν, καὶ καταλαμβάνων Ὀρεὸν, καὶ  
κατασκάπτων Πορθμὸν, καὶ καθιστὰς ἐν μὲν  
Ὀρεῶ Φιλιστίδην τύραννον, ἐν δ' Ἐρετρίᾳ Κλείταρ- 5  
χον, καὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ ποιούμενος,  
καὶ Βυζάντιον πόλι<sup>ος</sup>ρχῶν, καὶ πόλεις, Ἑλληνίδας.  
ὥς μὲν ἀναίρων εἰς ὧς δὲ τοὺς φυγάδας κατάγων,  
πότερον ταῦτα πάντα ποιῶν, ἡδίκηκε καὶ παρεσπόνδει  
καὶ ἔλκε τὴν εἰρήνην, ἢ οὐ; καὶ πότερον φανῆναι 10  
τινα τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὸν ταῦτα κωλύοντα ποιεῖν  
αὐτὸν ἐχρῆν ἢ μή; εἰ μὲν γὰρ μὴ ἐχρῆν, ἀλλὰ τὴν 72  
Μυσῶν λείαν καλουμένην τὴν Ἑλλάδ' οὖσαν ὀφθῆ-  
ναι ζώντων καὶ ὄντων Ἀθηναίων, περιείργασμαι μὲν

2. ἐπιτείχισμ' ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν, as a fortress commanding Attica. An ἐπιτείχισμα is properly a fortress in an enemy's country, used as a military basis, like the Spartan fort at Decelea in the Peloponnesian War. Here Euboea in Philip's hands is figuratively described as such a fortress commanding Attica; and the sight of its high mountains across the narrow strait made the figure especially vivid to dwellers in the east of Attica: see § 87<sup>4</sup>. This passage relates to Philip's operations in Euboea in 343—342 B.C. See § 79<sup>6</sup> with note, and Hist. § 46.

3. Μεγάροις ἐπιχειρῶν: in 344—343 B.C. Philip attempted to get possession of Megara, with the help of his friends in the city. See § 48<sup>11</sup> and note. Megara in Philip's hands would have been another ἐπιτείχισμα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν.

6. τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον: for Philip's operations in the Hellespont and at Byzantium, see §§ 87—89 and 244.

8. ὥς μὲν... εἰς ὧς δὲ: very rare for τὰς μὲν... εἰς τὰς δὲ: in XI.1.11 we have ἃ μὲν (cod. A τὰ μὲν)... τῶν δὲ... τὰ δὲ. See Philem. frag. 99 (Kock), ὧν μὲν διὰ τύχην, ὧν δὲ δι' ἑαυτούς.—τοὺς

φυγάδας κατάγων: i.e. restoring his own exiled partizans.

10. ἢ οὐ: sc. ἡδίκηκε κ.τ.λ.; but (in 12) ἢ μή: sc. φανῆναι.

11. τὸν ταῦτα κωλύοντα=ὅς τ. κωλύσει (final); in § 72<sup>6</sup> is the simple κωλυτήν; both predicates with φανῆναι.

12. ἐχρῆν ἢ μή: the question is here put for the fourth time; see note on § 63<sup>1</sup>.

§ 72. 1. εἰ μὲν γὰρ μὴ ἐχρῆν: the alternative is εἰ δ' ἔδει (6).—τὴν Μυσῶν λείαν, Mysian booty, i.e. like the Mysians, a prey to everybody. παροιμία, ἣν φησι Δήμων τὴν ἀρχὴν λαβεῖν ἀπὸ τῶν καταδραμόντων ἀστυγαιτόνων τε καὶ ληστῶν τὴν Μυσίαν κατὰ τὴν Τηλέφου τοῦ βασιλέως ἀποδημίαν, Harpocr. This refers to the wanderings of Telephus, disguised as a beggar, in quest of Achilles, who had wounded him and alone could cure his wound. This was the plot of the much-ridiculed Telephus of Euripides.

2. ὀφθῆναι: sc. ἐχρῆν (without μή).

3. ζώντων καὶ ὄντων: see note on § 4<sup>6</sup>. See Plat. Rep. 369 D, τοῦ εἶναι

ἐγὼ περὶ τούτων εἰπὼν, περιείργασται δ' ἡ πόλις ἡ  
 πεισθεῖς' ἐμοί, ἔστω δὲ ἀδικήματα πάνθ' ἃ πέπρακται 5  
 καὶ ἀμαρτήματ' ἐμά. εἰ δ' ἔδει τινὰ τούτων κωλυτὴν  
 249 φανῆναι, τίς' ἄλλον ἢ τὸν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον προσήκεν  
 γενέσθαι; ταῦτα τοίνυν ἐπολιτευόμεν ἑγὼ, καὶ ὁρῶν  
 καταδουλούμενον πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἐκείνου ἡνα-  
 τιούμην, καὶ προλέγων καὶ διδάσκων μὴ προῖσθαι 10  
 διετέλουν.

Καὶ μὴν τὴν εἰρήνην γ' ἐκείνος ἔλυσεν τὰ πλοῖα ἔλ- 75  
 λαβὼν, οὐχ ἡ πόλις, Αἰσχίνη.

Φέρε δ' αὐτὰ τὰ ψηφίσματα καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν  
 τὴν τοῦ Φιλίππου, καὶ λέγε ἐφεξῆς· ἀπὸ γὰρ τούτων  
 τίς τίνος αἰτιὸς ἐστὶ γενήσεται φανερόν. 5

#### ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

[Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Νεοκλέους, μηνὸς βοηδρομιῶνος, ἐκκλη-  
 σίας συγκλήτου ὑπὸ στρατηγῶν, Εὐβουλος Μητισθεύς Κό-  
 πρειος εἶπεν, ἐπειδὴ προσήγγειλαν οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐν τῇ  
 ἐκκλησίᾳ ὡς ἄρα Λεωδάμαντα τὸν ναύαρχον καὶ τὰ μετ' 10  
 αὐτοῦ ἀποσταλέντα σκάφη εἴκοσιν ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ σίτου παρα-

τε καὶ ξῆν.—περιείργασμαι, *I have done a useless (superfluous) work*: περιττῶς καὶ οὐκ ἀναγκαίως παρήνεσά τε ἐγὼ καὶ ἡ πόλις ἡ πεισθεῖσα μάτην ἐπέισθη (Schol.).

5. ἔστω...ἐμά: ἀδικήματα καὶ ἀμαρτήματα ἐμά is predicate to ἔστω. See ἀδικημα, *crime*, and ἀμαρτημα, *blunder*, distinguished in § 274.

10. μὴ προῖσθαι, *not to make surrenders (not to give up your σπον)*, here absolute, as in Arist. Eth. III. 5, 14: τότε μὲν οὖν ἐξῆν αὐτῷ μὴ νοσεῖν, προεμένῳ δ' οὐκέτι, i.e. *after he has sacrificed his health*.

§ 73. 1. καὶ μὴν...λαβὼν: this seizure of merchant ships, of which we have no other knowledge, was the overt act which Athens made the occasion of her declaration of war. It

perhaps hastened this declaration by a few weeks; but after the letter to Philip (§ 76), which was practically declaration of war on his part, only one course was open to Athens.

3. τὴν ἐπιστολὴν: this was a detailed statement of Philip's grievances, with a defence of his own conduct toward Athens, ending with a formal declaration of war. The document numbered XII. among the orations of Demosthenes purports to be this letter. See Hist. § 55.

5. τίς τίνος: such double interrogatives are common in Greek, by colloquial or comic in English, *who's who?* An increase of the number becomes comic in Greek; as in IV. 36, τίς χορηγός...πότε καὶ παρὰ τί καὶ τί λαβόντα τί δεῖ ποιεῖν.

πομπήν εἰς Ἑλλάσποντον ὁ παρὰ Φιλίππου στρατηγὸς Ἀμύντας καταγέγονεν εἰς Μακεδονίαν καὶ ἐν φυλακῇ ἔχει, ἐπιμεληθῆναι τοὺς πρυτάνεις καὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς ὅπως ἡ βουλή συναχθῇ καὶ αἰρεθῶσι πρέσβεις πρὸς Φίλιππον, 15 οἷτινες παραγενόμενοι διαλέξονται πρὸς αὐτὸν περὶ τοῦ 74 ἀφεθῆναι τὸν ναύαρχον καὶ τὰ πλοῖα καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας. καὶ εἰ μὲν δι' ἄγνοιαν ταῦτα πεποίηκεν ὁ Ἀμύντας, ὅτι οὐ μεμψιμοιρεῖ ὁ δῆμος οὐδὲν αὐτῷ· εἰ δέ τι πλημμελοῦντα παρὰ τὰ ἐπεσταλμένα λαβὼν, ὅτι ἐπισκεψάμενοι Ἀθηναῖοι 5 ἐπιτιμήσουσι κατὰ τὴν τῆς ὀγκωρίας ἀξίαν. εἰ δέ μηδέ- 30 τερον τούτων ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ἰδίᾳ ἀγνωμονοῦσιν ἢ ὁ ἀποστείλας ἢ ὁ ἀπεσταλμένος, καὶ τοῦτο λέγειν, ἵνα αἰσθανόμενος ὁ δῆμος βουλευσῇται τί δεῖ ποιεῖν.]

Τοῦτο μὲν τοίνυν τὸ ψήφισμα Εὐβουλος ἔγραψεν, 75 οὐκ ἐγὼ, τὸ δ' ἐφεξῆς Ἀριστοφῶν, εἰθ' Ἡγήσιππος, εἴτ' Ἀριστοφῶν πάλιν, εἴτα Φιλοκράτης, εἴτα Κηφισοφῶν, εἴτα πάντες· ἐγὼ δ' οὐδὲν περὶ τούτων. 5 λέγε.

## ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

[Ἐπὶ Νεοκλέους ἄρχοντος, βοηδρομιῶνος ἔην καὶ νέα, βουλῆς γνώμη, πρυτάνεις καὶ στρατηγοὶ ἐχρημάτισαν τὰ ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀνεγκόντες, ὅτι ἔδοξε τῷ δήμῳ πρέσβεις ἐλέσθαι πρὸς Φίλιππον περὶ τῆς τῶν πλοίων ἀνακομιδῆς 10 καὶ ἐντολὰς δοῦναι κατὰ τὰ ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ψηφίσματα. καὶ εἶλοντο τοῖςδε, Κηφισοφῶντα Κλέωνος Ἀναφλύστιον, Δημόκριτον Δημοφῶντος Ἀναγυράσιον, Πολύκριτον Ἀπημάντου Κοθωκίδην. πρυτανεῖα φυλῆς Ἴπποθωντίδος, Ἀριστοφῶν Κολλυτεὺς πρόεδρος εἶπεν.] 15

§ 75. 4. ἐγὼ δ' οὐδὲν περὶ τούτων: this with § 76<sup>2</sup> is a positive denial of the statement of Aeschines (11. 55) that the decree declaring war was proposed by Demosthenes: *ibid.* § 55, notes 4, 5. Though Demos-

thenes was constantly proposing decrees at this time, he cannot have proposed the one which formally declared war or any on the matters mentioned in § 70 or about the seizure of ships (i.e. *περὶ τούτων*).

Ὡςπερ τοίνυν ἐγὼ ταῦτα δεικνύω τὰ ψηφίσματα, 7  
 οὕτω καὶ σὺ δείξον, Αἰσχίνη, ὅποῖον ἐγὼ γράψας  
 ψηφίσμα αἰτίως εἰμι τοῦ πολέμου. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν  
 ἔχοις· εἰ γὰρ εἶχες, οὐδὲν ἂν αὐτοῦ πρότερον νυνὶ  
 παρέσχου. καὶ μὴν οὐδ' ὁ Φίλιππος οὐδὲν αἰτιάται 5  
 ἔμ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ πολέμου, ἐτέροις <sup>αὐτοῦ</sup> ἐγκαλῶν. λέγε δ'  
 αὐτὴν τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τὴν τοῦ Φιλίππου.

## ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ.

[Βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων Φίλιππος Ἀθηναίων τῇ βουλῇ καὶ 7  
 251 τῷ δήμῳ χαίρειν. παραγενόμενοι πρὸς ἐμὲ οἱ παρ' ὑμῶν  
 πρεσβευταί, Κηφισοφῶν καὶ Δημόκριτος καὶ Πολύκριτος,  
 διελέγοντο περὶ τῆς τῶν πλοίων ἀφέσεως ὧν ἐξανάρχει  
 Λεωδάμας. καθ' ὅλου μὲν οὖν ἔμοιγε φαίνεσθαι <sup>ἡ</sup> μεγάλη 5  
 εὐηθεία ἔσεσθαι, εἰ οἶεσθ' ἐμὲ λανθάνειν ὅτι ~~ἐ~~ ἀπεστάλη  
 ταῦτα τὰ πλοῖα πρόφασιν μὲν ὡς τὸν σῆτον παραπέμψοντα  
 ἐκ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου εἰς Ἀῆμον, βοηθήσοντα δὲ Σηλυ-  
 βριανοῖς τοῖς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ μὲν πολιορκουμένοις, οὐ συμπεριει-  
 λημένοις δὲ ἐν ταῖς τῆς φιλίας κοινῇ ~~κειμέναις~~ ἡμῖν 1  
 συνθήκαις. καὶ ταῦτα συνετάχθη τῷ ~~κατάρχῳ~~ ἀνευ μὲν 7  
 τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων, ὑπὸ δέ τισιν ἀρχόντων καὶ ἐτέ-  
 ρων ἰδιωτῶν μὲν νῦν ὄντων, ἐκ παντὸς δὲ τρόπου βουλομένων  
 τὸν δῆμον ἀντὶ τῆς νῦν ὑπαρχούσης πρὸς ἐμὲ φιλίας τὸν  
 πόλεμον ἀναλαβεῖν, πολλῷ μᾶλλον φιλοτιμουμένων τοῦτο 5  
 συντετελέσθαι ἢ τοῖς Σηλυβριανοῖς βοηθήσαι. καὶ ὑπολαμ-  
 βάνουσιν αὐτοῖς τὸ τοιοῦτο πρόσδοον ἔσεσθαι· οὐ μέντοι  
 μοι δοκεῖ τοῦτο χρήσιμον ὑπάρχειν οὐθ' ὑμῖν οὐτ' ἐμοί.  
 διόπερ τά τε νῦν καταχθέντα πλοῖα πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀφήμι ὑμῖν,  
 καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ, ἔαν βούλησθε μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν τοῖς προσστη 1  
 κόσιν ὑμῶν κακοήθως πολιτεύεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐπιτιμᾶτε, πειρά-  
 σομαι ἀγὰρ διαφυλάττειν τὴν εἰρήνην. εὐτυχεῖτε.]

Ἐνταῦθ' οὐδαμοῦ Δημοσθένην γέγραφεν, οὐδ' 7  
 αἰτίαν οὐδεμίαν κατ' ἐμοῦ. τί, ποτ' οὖν τοῖς ἄλλοις

§ 76. 7. ἐπιστολὴν: see note on § 73<sup>8</sup>. The following letter is spurio

ἐγκαλῶν, τῶν ἐμοὶ πεπραγμένων οὐχὶ μέμνηται; ὅτι  
 τῶν ἀδικημάτων ἂν ἐμέμνητο τῶν αὐτοῦ, εἴ τι περὶ  
 2 ἐμοῦ γ' ἔγραφεν· τούτων γὰρ εἰχόμεν ἐγὼ καὶ τού- 5  
 τοις ἡναντιούμεν. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τὴν εἰς Πελο-  
 πόννησον πρεσβείαν ἔγραψα, ὅτε πρῶτον ἐκείνος  
 εἰς Πελοπόννησον παρεδύετο, εἶτα τὴν εἰς Εὐβοίαν,  
 ἥνικ' Εὐβοίας ἤπτετο, εἶτα τὴν ἐπ' Ὠρεὸν ἔξοδον,  
 οὐκέτι πρεσβείαν, καὶ τὴν εἰς Ἐρέτριαν, ἐπειδὴ 10  
 τυράννους ἐκείνος ἐν ταύταις ταῖς πόλεσι κατέστη-  
 σεν. μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ τοὺς ἀποστόλους ἅπαντας 80  
 ἀπέστειλα, καὶ οὗς Χερρόνησος ἐσώθη καὶ τὸ Βυ-  
 ζάντιον καὶ πρῶτες οἱ σύμμαχοι. ἐξ ὧν ὑμῖν μὲν  
 τὰ κάλλιστα, ἔπαινοι, δόξαι, τιμαί, στέφανοι, χάριτες  
 παρὰ τῶν εὐ πεπονθότων ὑπῆρχον· τῶν δ' ἀδικου- 5  
 μένων, τοῖς μὲν ὑμῖν τότε πεισθεῖσιν ἡ σωτηρία  
 περιεγένετο, τοῖς δ' ὀλιγωρήσασι τὸ πολλάκις ὧν  
 ὑμεῖς προεῖπατε μεμνήσθαι, καὶ νομίζειν ὑμᾶς μὴ

§ 79. 3. *ἐτι...τῶν αὐτοῦ*: this implies that Philip could not speak any recent case in which Demosthenes had opposed him, without luding to some disgraceful act of s own.

4. *εἰ.....γ' ἔγραφεν*: this absolutely certain but long neglected correction of Droysen (1839), hardly an nendation, is now generally adopted r the impossible *γέγραφε* (Σ) or *ἔγραφε* of the MSS.

5. *εἰχόμεν*, *clung to, followed up nely*.

6. *εἰς Πελοπόννησον*: probably e embassy of 344, on which Demosthenes made the speech quoted in the cond Philippic, 20—25.

8. *παρεδύετο*, *was working his ay, stealing in*.—*τὴν εἰς Εὐβοίαν* (sc. *πρεσβείαν*): in 343—342 B.C. (§ 71).

9. *τὴν ἐπ' Ὠρεὸν...Ἐρέτριαν*: the o military expeditions to Euboea

in 341 B.C., by which the tyrannies in Oreus and Eretria were suppressed. See Hist. § 52.

§ 80. 1. *ἀποστόλους*: the orators use *ἀπόστολος*, properly a *messenger* (N. Test. *apostle*), and *στόλος* for a *naval armament*: cf. *οὔτε ναυσὶ κρατήσας ἦλθεν ἂν ποτε στόλῳ, οὔτε πεζῇ κ.τ.λ.*, VI. 36.

2. *ἀπέστειλα*: properly used with *ἀποστόλους*, *I sent out* (by my decrees): cf. *πρεσβείαν ἔγραψα*, § 79<sup>7</sup>.—*Χερρόνησος...σύμμαχοι*: see §§ 87—89, 240, 241.

4. *ἔπαινοι...χάριτες*: the decrees conferring these grateful rewards on Athens were read after § 89.

7. *τοῖς δ' ὀλιγωρήσασι*: this refers to the Peloponnesians who neglected the advice of Demosthenes in 344 B.C. (§ 79<sup>6</sup>) and later (IX. 27, 34), and to the early refusal of Oreus and Eretria to listen to Athens (IX. 57, 66, 68).

μόνον εἵνους ἑαυτοῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ φρονίμους ἀνθρώ-  
 πους καὶ μάντις εἶναι· πάντα γὰρ ἐκβέβηκεν ἃ 10  
 προείπατε. καὶ μὴν ὅτι πολλὰ μὲν ἂν χρήματ' ἔδωκε 81  
 Φιλιστιδῆς ὥστ' ἔχειν Ὀρεὸν, πολλὰ δὲ Κλείταρχος  
 ὥστ' ἔχειν Ἐρέτριαν, πολλὰ δ' αὐτὸς ὁ Φίλιππος  
 ὥστε ταῦθ' ὑπάρχειν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς αὐτῶ, καὶ περὶ τῶν  
 ἄλλων μηδὲν ἐξελέγχεσθαι, μηδ' ἃ ποίων ἡδίκει 5  
 μηδέν' ἐξετάζειν πανταχοῦ, οὐδεὶς ἀγνοεῖ, καὶ πάντων  
 ἥκιστα σύ· οἱ γὰρ παρὰ τοῦ Κλειτάρχου καὶ τοῦ 82  
 Φιλιστιδίου τότε πρέσβεις δεῦρ' ἀφικνούμενοι παρὰ  
 σοὶ κατέλουν, Αἰσχίνη, καὶ σὺ προὔξενεις αὐτῶν·  
 οὓς ἡ μὲν πόλις ὥς ἐχθροὺς καὶ οὔτε δίκαια οὔτε  
 συμφέροντα λέγοντας ἀπήλασεν, σοὶ δ' ἦσαν φίλοι. 5  
 οὐ τοίνυν ἐπράχθη τούτων οὐδέν, ὦ βλασφημῶν περὶ  
 253 ἐμοῦ καὶ λέγων ὡς σιωπῶ μὲν λαβὼν βοῶ δ' ἀναλώ-  
 σας. ἀλλ' οὐ σὺ, ἀλλὰ βοᾷς μὲν ἔχων, παύσει δὲ  
 οὐδέποτε· εἰ μὴ σε οὗτοι παύσωσιν ἀτιμώσαντες

§ 81. 4. ὥστε ταῦθ' ὑπάρχειν, i.e. that he might have these (the two towns under the two tyrants) to depend on, i.e. as ἐπιτεχίσματα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν (§ 71).

5. μηδέν ἐξελέγχεσθαι (sc. subj. αὐτόν): cf. the active constr. in Plat. Ap. 23 A, ἃ ἂν ἄλλον ἐξελέγξω.

6. πανταχοῦ, anywhere: cf. πάντων, § 5<sup>4</sup>.—πάντων ἥκιστα σύ: a sudden outburst of personality.

§ 82. 2. ἀφικνούμενοι...κατέλουν: the tenses imply that such envoys of the tyrants were regular guests of Aeschines.

3. κατέλουν: lodged (as we say *put up*), lit. *let down*, originally *unharnessed*; cf. Od. IV. 28, καταλύσομεν ὁκέας ἵππους.—προὔξενεις αὐτῶν, you were their πρόξενος: this might be metaphorical; but there is good reason for thinking that Aeschines was the official representative at Athens of Oreus, if not of Eretria.

5. ἀπήλασεν, rejected (i.e. their proposals).

6. οὐ τοίνυν...οὐδέν: i.e. nothing of the kind was ever successful with me, referring to πολλὰ μὲν ἂν χρήματ' ἔδωκε κ.τ.λ. in § 81<sup>1</sup>.

7. ὡς σιωπῶ...ἀναλώσας: quoted from memory from the speech of Aesch. (218), σὺ δ' οἶμαι λαβὼν μὲν σεσίγηκας, ἀναλώσας δὲ κέκραγας.

8. βοᾷς ἔχων, you keep on shouting: cf. Ar. Nub. 509, τί κυπτάξεις ἔχων. (M.T. 837). The Scholia understand χρήματα with ἔχων (as with λαβὼν): there may be a double meaning in ἔχων.—παύσει...παύσωσιν, you will not stop unless these judges stop you.

9. ἀτιμώσαντες, i.e. by not giving you a fifth of their votes, the result of which would be the partial ἀτιμία of losing the right to bring a similar suit hereafter, with a fine of 1000 drachmas. This was actually the result of this trial.

10  
31  
2  
τῇμερον. στεφανωσάντων τοίνυν ὑμῶν ἔμ' ἐπὶ τοῦ 83  
τοῖς τότε, καὶ γράψαντος Ἀριστονίκου τὰς αὐτὰς  
συλλαβὰς ὥσπερ οὗτοσὶ Κτησιφῶν νῦν γέγραφεν,  
καὶ ἀναρρηθέντος ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ τοῦ στεφάνου,—καὶ  
δευτέρου κηρύγματος ἤδη μοι τούτου γιγνομένου,— 5  
οὐτ' ἀντείπεν Αἰσχίνης παρὼν οὔτε τὸν εἰπόντ' ἐγρά-  
ψατο. καὶ μοι λέγε καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα λαβών.

## ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

[Ἐπὶ Χαιρώνδου Ἡγήμονος ἄρχοντος, γαμηλιῶνος ἕκτη 84  
ἀπιόντος, φυλῆς πρυτανευούσης Λεοντίδος, Ἀριστόνικος  
Φρεάρριος εἶπεν, ἐπειδὴ Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παι-  
ανιεύς πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας χρείας παρέσχηται τῷ δήμῳ τῷ  
Ἀθηναίων καὶ πολλοῖς τῶν συμμάχων καὶ πρότερον, καὶ 5  
ἐν τῷ παρόντι καιρῷ βεβοήθηκε διὰ τῶν ψηφισμάτων, καὶ  
τινας τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐβοίᾳ πόλεων ἠλευθέρωκε, καὶ διατελεῖ  
εὖνους ὧν τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων, καὶ λέγει καὶ πράττει ὁ  
τι ἂν δύνηται ἀγαθὸν ὑπὲρ τε αὐτῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν  
ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων, δεδύχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθη- 10  
ναίων ἐπαινεῖσαι Δημοσθένην· Δημοσθένους Παιανιέα καὶ  
στεφανῶσαι χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ, καὶ ἀναγορεῦσαι τὸν στέφανον  
ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ Διονυσίοις, τραγωδοῖς καινοῖς, τῆς δὲ ἀναγο-  
ρεύσεως τοῦ στεφάνου ἐπιμεληθῆναι τὴν πρυτανεύουσαν  
254 φυλὴν καὶ τὸν ἀγνωσθέντα. εἶπεν Ἀριστόνικος ὁ Φρεάρριος.] 15

§ 83. 2. γράψαντος...γέγραφεν:  
i.e. the two decrees were essentially  
identical in form. In § 223<sup>1</sup> he says  
of a later decree, τὰς αὐτὰς συλλαβὰς  
καὶ ταῦτ' ῥήματα ἔχει. Even this  
does not include such details as dates,  
names, etc.

4. ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ: this anticipates  
the argument on the place of pro-  
clamation (§§ 120, 121), and gives a  
precedent for Ctesiphon's proposal.

5. δευτέρου...τούτου γιγνομένου:  
τούτου is here ambiguous, but it pro-

bably refers to the crown proposed  
by Aristonicus, the clause *δευτέρου...*  
*γιγνομένου* meaning that one crown  
had been given to Demosthenes in  
the theatre before that of Aristonicus.  
*γιγνομένου* is imperfect and we might  
have had *δευτέρου κήρυγμα ἤδη μοι*  
*τοῦτο ἐγίνετο*, the imperf. implying  
that he *was then receiving* the dis-  
tinction for the second time.

6. παρὼν, *though present*.—ἐγρά-  
ψατο: sc. *παράνομον*.

Ἔστιν οὖν ὅστις ὑμῶν οἰδέ τινα αἰσχύνῃν τῇ 85  
 πόλει συμβάσαν διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα, ἢ χλευα-  
 σμὸν ἢ γελωτά, ἃ νῦν οὗτος ἔφη συμβήσεσθαι ἂν ἐγὼ  
 στεφανῶμαι; καὶ μὴν ὅταν ἡ νέα καὶ γνώριμα πᾶσι  
 τὰ πράγματα, εἰάν τε καλῶς ἔχῃ, χάριτος τυγχάνει, 5  
 εἰάν θ' ὡς ἐτέρως, τιμωρίας. φαίνομαι τοίνυν ἐγὼ  
 χάριτος τετυχηκὼς τότε, καὶ οὐ μέμψεως οὐδὲ τιμω-  
 ρίας.

Οὐκοῦν μέχρι μὲν τῶν χρόνων ἐκείνων ἐν οἷς 86  
 ταῦτ' ἐπράχθη, πάντ' ἀνωμολόγηται τὰ ἄριστα  
 πράττειν τῇ πόλει, τῷ νικᾶν ὅτ' ἐβουλεύεσθε λέγων  
 καὶ γράφων, τῷ καταπραχθῆναι τὰ γραφέντα, καὶ  
 στεφάνους ἐξ αὐτῶν τῇ πόλει καὶ ἐμοὶ καὶ πᾶσιν 5  
 γενέσθαι, τῷ θυσίας τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ προσόδους ὡς  
 ἀγαθῶν τούτων ὄντων ὑμᾶς πεποιῆσθαι.

Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἐκ τῆς Εὐβοίας ὁ Φίλιππος ὑφ' 87  
 ὑμῶν ἐξηλάθη,—τοῖς μὲν ὅπλοις, τῇ δὲ πολιτείᾳ καὶ  
 τοῖς ψηφίσμασι, κἂν διαρραγώσιν τινες τούτων, ὑπ'

§ 85. 2. συμβάσαν=ὅτι συνέβη: cf. φαίνομαι τετυχηκὼς (6).

3. ἔφη συμβήσεσθαι: see Aesch. 231, ὅταν τὸν τοιοῦτον ἄνθρωπον στεφανῶτε, οὐκ οἰεσθε ἐν ταῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων δόξαις συρίττεσθαι;

6. ὡς ἐτέρως, otherwise, in the other way (opposed to καλῶς), used to avoid κακῶς. This is the adverb of τὸ ἕτερον, as ὡσαύτως (ὡς αὐτως) of τὸ αὐτό, and ὡς ἀληθῶς of τὸ ἀληθές. See XXII. 12, ἀγαθὰ ἢ θάτερα, ἵνα μὴδὲν εἴπω φλαῦρον, which shows the euphemistic character of ὡς ἐτέρως here.

§ 86. 2. πάντ'...πράττειν, that I did everything that was best. It is difficult to choose even the most probable reading here. Both πάντας (Σ) and πάντας τοὺς χρόνους (Vulg.) are objectionable, and we seem com-

pelled to decide between the conjectures πάντ' and πάντως. πρῶττειν is imperfect (for ἐπραττον). On the contrary, νικᾶν, καταπραχθῆναι, and γενέσθαι are distinguished only like ordinary present and aorist infinitives (M.T. 87, 96).

4. τὰ γραφέντα=ἃ ἔγραψα: see note on § 56<sup>4</sup>.

5. καὶ ἐμοὶ καὶ πᾶσιν repeats the idea of τῇ πόλει.

6. προσόδους, processions: cf. § 216<sup>10</sup>.

§ 87. 2. τοῖς μὲν ὅπλοις, I mean, by arms, added, as if by afterthought, to limit ὑφ' ὑμῶν, as πολιτείᾳ and ψηφίσμασι limit ὑπ' ἐμοῦ. The interruption is colloquial and designedly spontaneous. See note on § 121<sup>7</sup>, τῶν δ' ἀφαιρῶν μέρη.

3. κἂν διαρραγώσιν: see § 21<sup>9</sup>.

έμοῦ, — ἕτερον κατὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐπιτειχισμὸν ἐζήτει. ὁρῶν δ' ὅτι σίτῳ πάντων ἀνθρώπων πλείστῳ χρώ 5 μεθ' ἐπίσάκτῳ, βουχόμενος τῆς σιτοπομπίας κύριος γενέσθαι, παρελθὼν ἐπὶ Θράκης, Βυζαντίους, συμμάχους ὄντας αὐτῷ, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἡξίου συμπολεμεῖν τὸν πρὸς ὑμᾶς πόλεμον, ὥς δ' οὐκ ἤθελον οὐδ' ἐπὶ τούτοις ἔφασαν τὴν συμμαχίαν πεποιήσθαι, λέγον- 10 τες ἀληθῆ) χάρακα βαλόμενος πρὸς τῇ πόλει καὶ μηχανήματ' ἐπιστήσας ἐπολιόρκει. τούτων δὲ γιγ- 88 νομένων ὃ τι μὲν προσήκε ποιεῖν ὑμᾶς, οὐκ ἐπερω- 255 τήσω· δῆλον γάρ ἐστιν ἅπασιν. ἀλλὰ τίς ἦν ὁ βοηθήσας τοῖς Βυζαντίοις καὶ σῶσας αὐτοὺς; τίς ὁ

4. ἐπιτειχισμὸν, i.e. Byzantium, as a point from which to threaten Athens: see note on § 71<sup>2</sup>.

5. σίτῳ ἐπίσάκτῳ: the same words are found in xx. 31, where it is said that the grain from the Euxine was about half of the whole amount imported by Athens. See Sandys's notes on xx. 31—33. The thin soil of Attica (τὸ λεπτόγειον, Thuc. i. 2) could not supply grain enough for the population, even in the best seasons, and the fruitful shores of the Euxine were the most important sources of supply. Hence it would have been fatal to Athens to have the Hellespont and the Bosphorus in hostile hands (cf. §§ 241, 301). Boeckh estimates the grain annually consumed in Attica at about 3,400,000 μέδιμοι (5,100,000 bushels), of which only 2,400,000 μέδιμοι could be raised at home. See the story of Xerxes in Hdt. vii. 147.

7. παρελθὼν ἐπὶ Θράκης: this probably refers to the advance of Philip to the siege of Perinthus in 340, when he protected his fleet in its passage through the Hellespont by marching an army through the

Chersonese. The appeal to Byzantium, as an ally, to help him in his coming war with Athens was perhaps sent from Perinthus, which he besieged unsuccessfully before he attacked Byzantium. See Hist. §§ 54, 55.—Βυζαντίους: with both ἡξίου and ἐπολιόρκει (12).—συμμάχους: after Byzantium left the Athenian alliance in the Social war, she became an ally of Philip (xv. 3, ix. 35). But now she had been brought into friendship and alliance with Athens by the skilful diplomacy of Demosthenes before Philip's appeal to her for help (Hist. §§ 51, 53).

9. οὐκ ἤθελον οὐδ' ἔφασαν, refused and denied.

11. χάρακα, here a palisade, generally a pale or pole: see Harpocr. χάρακα: Δημοσθένης τὸ χαράκωμα δ περιεβάλλοντό τινες στρατοπέδῳ ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ.

12. μηχανήματ' ἐπιστήσας: cf. ix. 17, 50. The siege of Byzantium marks an epoch in engines of war.

§ 88. 2. οὐκ ἐπερωτήσω, i.e. I will not repeat the question, already asked in §§ 63, 66, 69, 71.

κωλύσας τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἀλλοτριωθῆναι κατ' 5  
 ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους; ὑμεῖς, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι. τὸ  
 δ' ὑμεῖς ὅταν λέγω, τὴν πόλιν λέγω. τίς δ' ὁ τῇ  
 πόλει λέγων καὶ γράφων καὶ πράττων καὶ ἀπλῶς  
 ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὰ πράγματα ἀφειδῶς διδούς; ἐγώ. ἀλλὰ 89  
 μὴν ἡλίκα ταῦτ' ὠφέλησεν ἅπαντας, οὐκέτ' ἐκ τοῦ  
 λόγου δεῖ μαθεῖν, ἀλλ' ἔργῳ πεπειρασθε· ὁ γὰρ τότε  
 ἐνστάς πόλεμος (ἄνευ τοῦ καλὴν δόξαν ἐνεγκεῖν) ἐν  
 πᾶσι τοῖς κατὰ τὸν βίον ἀφθονωτέροις καὶ εὐωνοτέ- 5  
 ροις διῆγεν ὑμᾶς τῆς νῦν εἰρήνης, ἣν οὗτοι κατὰ τῆς  
 πατρίδος τηροῦσιν οἱ χρηστοὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς μελλούσαις  
 ἐλπίσιν, ὧν διαμάρτοιν, καὶ μετὰσχοιν ὧν ὑμεῖς οἱ  
 τὰ βέλτιστα βουλόμενοι τοὺς θεοὺς αἰτεῖτε, μὴ

8, 9. λέγων... διδούς: these principles are imperfect, and so contrasted with the preceding βοηθήσας etc. Few venture to accept *doús* for *didούς*, though it is supported by Σ and L. Vömel says: "Nec puto Demosthenis aures tolerasse continuatas syllabas—δῶς δούς. Sed in talibus nihil affirmarim."

§ 89. 2. ἐκ τοῦ λόγου, in the familiar antithesis to ἔργῳ.

3. ὁ ἐνστάς, which broke out (ὅς ἐνέστη): cf. ἐνεστήκει, was upon us, § 139<sup>1</sup>.

4. ἄνευ, besides (without reckoning): cf. [XIII.] 7, ἄνευ τοῦ συμφέρειν, and XXIII. 112, ἄνευ τούτου.—ἐν πᾶσι... διῆγεν ὑμᾶς, saw you supplied (carried you through) with all the necessities of life in greater abundance and cheaper.

6. τῆς νῦν εἰρήνης: τῆς ἐπὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ (Schol.), the peace of Demades, under which Athens had been living since Chæroneia.—ἦν... τηροῦσιν: the Macedonian party had been strong enough to prevent Athens from openly helping Thebes in her revolt 335 B.C., or the Peloponnesians

under Agis in 330. See Grote XII. 44, 59; 380—383.

7. χρηστοὶ: cf. the sarcastic χρηστὲ, § 318<sup>1</sup>.—ἐπὶ... ἐλπίσιν, in (with a view to) their hopes of future gain: ἐλπίζουσι γὰρ ἐπαυελθούτα τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἀπὸ τῶν Περσῶν μεγὰλα αὐτοῖς χαρίσσεσθαι ὡς προδόταις (Schol.).

8—10. καὶ μετὰσχοιν... μὴ μεταδοῖεν: this reading of Σ gives an entirely different sense from that of the common text, καὶ μὴ μετὰσχοιν... μὴ δὲ μεταδοῖεν. The meaning is, May they fail in these their hopes; and may they rather be allowed to share with you patriots in the blessings for which you pray, that they may not involve you in the calamities which would result from their policy. Μὴ μεταδοῖεν cannot be a mere continuation of the wish of μετὰσχοιν: the asyndeton would be too harsh. It must be a final clause, assimilated to the optative μετὰσχοιν (M.T. 182), as in εἰθαι ὅπως γένοιτο λυτῆριος, Aeschyl. Eum. 297, and γένοιτο... ἵν' αὖ Μυκῆναι γνοῖεν, Soph. Phil. 324. See M.T. 181. I know no other

μεταδοῖεν ὑμῖν ὧν αὐτοὶ προήρηνται.

λέγε δ' αὐτοῖς 10  
καὶ τοὺς τῶν Βυζαντίων στεφάνους καὶ τοὺς τῶν  
Περινθίων, οἷς ἐστεφάνουν ἐκ τούτων τὴν πόλιν.

## ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΩΝ.

[Ἐπὶ ἱερομνάμονος Βοσπορίχῳ Δαμάγητος ἐν τῇ ἀλία 90  
ἔλεξεν, ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς λαβὼν ῥάτραν, ἐπειδὴ ὁ δᾶμος ὁ  
Ἀθηναίων ἐν τε τοῖς προγεγεναμένοις καιροῖς εὐνοέων δια-  
τελείει Βυζαντίους καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις καὶ συγγενέσι Περιν-  
θίοις καὶ πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας χρείας παρέσχηται, ἐν τε τῇ 5  
παρεστακτῇ καιρῷ Φιλίππῳ τῷ Μακεδόνης ἐπιστρατεύσαντος  
ἐπὶ τὰν χώραν καὶ τὰν πόλιν ἐπ' ἀναστάσει Βυζαντίων καὶ  
256 Περινθίων καὶ τὰν χώραν δαίοντος καὶ δενδροκοπέοντος, βοη-  
θήσας πλοίοις ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ σίτῳ καὶ βέλεσι καὶ  
ὀπλίταις ἐξείλετο ἀμὲ ἐκ τῶν μεγάλων κινδύνων καὶ ἀποκατέ- 10  
στασε τὰν πατριὸν πολιτείαν καὶ τὼς νόμους καὶ τὼς τάφους,  
δεδόχθαι τῷ δᾶμῳ τῷ Βυζαντίων καὶ Περινθίων Ἀθηναίοις 91  
δόμεν ἐπιγαμίαν, πολιτείαν, ἔγκτασιν γᾶς καὶ οἰκίαν, προε-  
δρίαν ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι, πόθοδον ποτὶ τὰν βουλὰν καὶ τὸν δᾶμον  
πράτοις μετὰ τὰ ἱερὰ, καὶ τοῖς κατοικέειν ἐθέλουσι τὰν πόλιν  
ἀλειουργήτοις ἡμεν πασάν τὰν λειτουργίαν· στᾶσαι δὲ καὶ 5  
εἰκόνας τρεῖς ἐκκαϊδεκαπάχεις ἐν τῷ Βοσπορείῳ, στεφανού-  
μενον τὸν δᾶμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων ὑπὸ τῷ δᾶμῳ τῷ Βυζαντίων  
καὶ Περινθίων· ἀποστεῖλαι δὲ καὶ θεωρίας ἐς τὰς ἐν τῇ  
Ἑλλάδι παναγύριαις, Ἰσθμια καὶ Νέμεαι καὶ Ὀλύμπια καὶ  
Πύθια, καὶ ἀνακαρῶσαι τὼς στεφάνους οἷς ἐστεφάνωνται ὁ 10  
δᾶμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων ὑφ' ἡμῶν, ὅπως ἐπιστέωνται οἱ Ἕλληνες  
τὰν τε Ἀθηναίων ἀρετὰν καὶ τὰν Βυζαντίων καὶ Περινθίων  
εὐχαριστίαν.]

Λέγε καὶ τοὺς παρὰ τῶν ἐν Χερρονήσῳ στε- 92  
φάνους.

such final optative in prose; but I know no other final clause (of any kind) depending on a wishing optative in prose, which is hardly strange.

10. ὧν αὐτοὶ προήρηνται, i.e. their

προαίρεσις: τῆς δουλείας δηλονότι (Schol.).

11. τοὺς τῶν Περινθίων, i.e. the crowns voted by these towns and sent to Athens as marks of honour.

## ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ ΧΕΡΡΟΝΗΣΙΤΩΝ.

[Χερρονησιτῶν οἱ κατοικοῦντες Σηστόν, Ἐλεοῦντα, Μά-  
 δυτον, Ἀλωπεκόννησον, στεφανοῦσιν Ἀθηναίων τὴν βουλὴν 5  
 καὶ τὸν δῆμον χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ ἀπὸ ταλάντων ἐξήκοντα, καὶ  
 Χάριτος βωμὸν ἰδρύονται καὶ δήμου Ἀθηναίων, ὅτι πάντων  
 μεγίστου ἀγαθῶν παραίτιος γέγονε Χερρονησίταις, ἐξελόμε-  
 νος ἐκ τῆς Φιλίππου καὶ ἀποδοῦς τὰς πατρίδας, τοὺς νόμους,  
 257 τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, τὰ ἱερά. καὶ ἐν τῷ μετὰ ταῦτα αἰῶνι παντὶ 10  
 οὐκ ἐλλείψει εὐχαριστῶν καὶ ποιῶν ὃ τι ἂν δύνηται ἀγαθόν.  
 ταῦτα ἐψηφίσαντο ἐν τῷ κοινῷ βουλευτηρίῳ.]

Οὐκοῦν οὐ μόνον τὸ Χερρόνησον καὶ Βυζάντιον 93  
 σῶσαι, οὐδὲ τὸ κωλύσαι τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ὑπὸ  
 Φιλίππῳ γενέσθαι τότε, οὐδὲ τὸ τιμᾶσθαι τὴν πόλιν  
 ἐκ τούτων, ἢ προαίρεσις ἢ ἐμὴ καὶ ἡ πολιτεία διε-  
 πράξατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσιν ἔδειξεν ἀνθρώποις τὴν τε 5  
 τῆς πόλεως καλοκαγαθίαν καὶ τὴν Φιλίππου κακίαν.  
 ὁ μὲν γὰρ σύμμαχος ὢν τοῖς Βυζαντίοις πολιορκῶν  
 αὐτοὺς ἐωρᾶτο ὑπὸ πάντων, οὐ τί γένοιτ' ἂν αἵσχιον  
 ἢ μιαιώτερον; ὑμεῖς δ', οἱ καὶ μεμψάμενοι πολλὰ, 94  
 καὶ δίκαι' ἂν ἐκείνοις εἰκότως περὶ ὧν ἡγνώμονή-  
 κεσαν εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις, οὐ μόνον  
 οὐ μνησικακοῦντες οὐδὲ προϊέμενοι τοὺς ἀδικουμέ-  
 νους, ἀλλὰ καὶ σφύζοντες ἐφαίνεσθε, ἐξ ὧν δόξαν, 5

§ 93. 1. οὐκοῦν introduces the conclusion to which the decrees point.

2. οὐδὲ (sc. μόνον): cf. οὐδὲ, § 2<sup>4</sup>.

4. ἡ προαίρεσις καὶ ἡ πολιτεία: cf. §§ 292<sup>4,8</sup>, 317<sup>2</sup>. In § 192<sup>6</sup> we have τὴν προαίρεσιν τῆς πολιτείας in nearly the same sense. προαίρεσις is deliberate choice.

7. σύμμαχος ὢν: cf. § 87<sup>1</sup>.

§ 94. 1. οἱ μεμψάμενοι ἄν=οἱ ἐμέμψασθε ἄν.—πολλὰ καὶ δίκαι' ἐκείνοις: cf. Ar. Plut. 8, Λοξία μέμψιν δικάσαν μέμφομαι ταύτην.

2. ὧν ἡγνώμονήκεσαν εἰς ὑμᾶς:

cf. οἷς εὐτυχήκεσαν, § 18<sup>6</sup>. This "want of feeling" (cf. 207<sup>1</sup>, 248<sup>7</sup>) refers to the conduct of Byzantium in the Social war: see note on § 87<sup>1</sup>, and Hist. §§ 2, 51.

4. μνησικακοῦντες: remembering old grudges (maliciously): cf. § 99<sup>6</sup>. See μὴ μνησικακήσειν in the oath of oblivion after the restoration in 403 B.C., Xen. Hell. II. 4, 43.

5. δόξαν, εὐνοίαν: the asyndeton is more emphatic than δόξαν καὶ εὐνοίαν: see §§ 96<sup>4,5</sup>, 234<sup>5</sup>, and XIX. 190 and 220.

εὐνοίαν παρὰ πάντων ἐκτᾶσθε. καὶ μὴν ὅτι μὲν πολλοὺς ἐστεφανώκατ' ἤδη τῶν πολιτευομένων ἅπαντες ἴσασι· δι' ὅντινα δ' ἄλλον ἢ πόλιν ἐστεφάνωνται, σύμβουλον λέγω καὶ ῥήτορα, πλὴν δι' ἐμέ, οὐδ' ἂν εἰς εἰπεῖν ἔχοι.

Ἵνα τοίνυν καὶ τὰς βλασφημίας ἃς κατὰ τῶν 95 Εὐβοέων καὶ τῶν Βυζαντιῶν ἐποιήσατο, εἴ τι δυσχερὲς αὐτοῖς ἐπέπρακτο πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὑπομιμνήσκων, συκοφαντίας οὕσας ἐπιδείξω, μὴ μόνον τῷ ψευδεῖς εἶναι (τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ὑπάρχειν ὑμᾶς εἰδότες ἡγοῦμαι), ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ, εἰ τὰ μάλιστ' ἦσαν ἀληθεῖς, οὔτως ὥς ἐγὼ κέχρημαι τοῖς πράγμασι συμφέρειν χρήσασθαι, ἐν ἧ δύο βούλομαι τῶν καθ' ὑμᾶς πε- 5 258πραγμένων καλῶν τῇ πόλει διεξελεθῆναι, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐν βραχεσί· καὶ γὰρ ἄνδρα ἰδίᾳ καὶ πόλιν κοινῇ πρὸς 10

7. τῶν πολιτευομένων, *your public men*.

9. σύμβουλον... ῥήτορα: Phocion as general was probably one of the exceptions here implied.

§§ 95—101. Historical parallels are cited to show that the considerate treatment of Euboea and Byzantium was in accordance with the traditional policy of Athens.

§ 95. 1. τὰς βλασφημίας refers to the long tirade of Aeschines (III. 85—93) against the proceedings in Euboea in 341—340. There is nothing in the speech of Aesch., as it now stands, relating to the help sent to Byzantium.

2. δυσχερὲς, *unpleasant*, is a euphemism adapted to the changed state of feeling towards Euboea and Byzantium since 343.

5. ὑπάρχειν ὑμᾶς εἰδότες, *that you may be presumed to know*: cf. § 228<sup>a</sup>. This is not a mere expanded εἰδέναι (as if εἶναι were used), but we have the fundamental idea of ὑπάρχω

(§ 1<sup>a</sup>) added. In line 11, τῶν ὑπαρχόντων applies to the glories of our ancestors as material stored up for us to emulate.

6. τῷ... συμφέρειν, like τῷ ψευδεῖς εἶναι, expresses means.—εἰ... ἦσαν, *si erant* (not *si essent*): cf. § 12<sup>7</sup>.—τὰ μάλιστ' ἀληθεῖς, *never so true*: cf. § 21<sup>3</sup>.

8. χρήσασθαι, *deal with, manage*.—τῶν καθ' ὑμᾶς, *of the events of your time*, beginning with the Corinthian war of 395 B.C. This war was now 65 years old; but there were probably old men in the immense audience who distinctly remembered it and who would be pleased to have it spoken of as *in their day*. Still, he feels that these earlier events hardly fall within his limit of καθ' ὑμᾶς, for he says τῶν τότε Ἀθηναίων in § 96<sup>8</sup>, directly after ἐξήλθετε εἰς Ἀλιάρτον, and of ὑμέτεροι πρόγονοι, followed by ὑμεῖς οἱ προσβύτεροι, in § 98<sup>1</sup>.

10. πρὸς, *with reference* (or *regard*) to: cf. τὸ πρὸς τι, Aristotle's category of *relation*.

τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αἰεὶ δεῖ πειράσθαι τὰ λοιπὰ πράττειν. ὑμεῖς τοίνυν, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, 96 Λακεδαιμονίων γῆς καὶ θαλάττης ἀρχόντων καὶ τὰ κύκλῳ τῆς Ἀττικῆς κατέχόντων ἀρμοσταῖς καὶ φρουραῖς, Εὐβοίαν, Τάναγραν, τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἅπασαν, Μέγαρον, Αἰγίναν, Κέων, τὰς ἄλλας νήσους, οὐ ναῦς 5 οὐ τείχη τῆς πόλεως τότε κτησαμένης, ἐξήλατε εἰς

11. τὰ λοιπὰ (cf. § 27<sup>11</sup>), opposed to τῶν ὑπαρχόντων.

§ 96. 2. Λακεδαιμονίων...ἀρχόντων: after the Peloponnesian war, Lysander established in most of the conquered towns, and even in some which were previously friendly to Sparta, a Spartan governor (ἀρμοστής) with a military force (φρουρά), and a board of ten citizens of the subject state (δεκαδρχία), who were partizans of Sparta. See Plutarch, Lysand. 13, and Grote ix. 255.—τὰ κύκλῳ τῆς Ἀττικῆς: more rhetorical than τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν, κύκλῳ having the adverbial sense of *around*. See iv. 4<sup>6</sup>, εἰχομεν πάντα τὸν τόπον οἰκείου κύκλῳ, and xix. 155, ἐπορεύοντο κύκλῳ, *they travelled round*.

4, 5. Εὐβοίαν...Αἰγίναν: Euboea and Megara had been in the hands of the Spartans before the end of the Peloponnesian war. Aegina, which Athens had settled with her own people in 431, after expelling the native population, was restored to its former owners (so far as this was possible) by Lysander in 405, as he was on his way to attack Athens (Thuc. ii. 27; Xen. Hell. ii. 2, 9). Boeotia as a whole was nominally allied with Sparta; but Thebes and other towns became disgusted with Sparta's tyrannical conduct soon after the end of the war, and though Thebes had been the greatest enemy of Athens when the peace was made, she harboured Thrasylbulus and his

fellow exiles before they attacked the Thirty in 403. This disaffection ended in the Boeotian war in 395, in which Athens aided Thebes; in the battle of Haliartus the allies gained a doubtful victory over Sparta, which was made decisive by the death of Lysander on the field. (See Grote ix. 409.) The invasion of Boeotia by Lysander and his Spartan army justifies τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἅπασαν from the Athenian point of view.

5. Κέων, τὰς ἄλλας νήσους, i.e. Ceos and the adjacent islands, Tenos, Andros, Cythnus, Melos, etc. Melos is mentioned as restored to its old inhabitants by Lysander (Plut. Lys. 14). The emendation Κέων, τὰς ἄλλας νήσους for Κλεωνὰς, ἄλλας νήσους (Σ) removes the difficulty caused by the mention (for no apparent reason) of Cleonae, a town between Corinth and Argos, under τὰ κύκλῳ τῆς Ἀττικῆς.—οὐ ναῦς οὐ τείχη τότε κτησαμένης: Athens was required by Sparta to demolish her Long Walls and the walls of the Piraeus, not those of the ἄστυ; and she was allowed to keep twelve war-ships: see Xen. Hell. ii. 2, 20. Here τότε κτησαμένης (not κερκτημένης) means that she had not yet *acquired* any ships or walls beyond what were left her at the end of the war.

6. εἰς Ἀλιάρτον: see note on ll. 4, 5.

Ἀλάρτον καὶ πάλιν οὐ πολλαῖς ἡμέραις ὕστερον εἰς  
 Κόρινθον, τῶν τότε Ἀθηναίων πόλλ' ἂν ἐχόντων  
 μυησικακῆσαι καὶ Κορινθίοις καὶ Θηβαίοις τῶν περὶ  
 τὸν Δεκελεικὸν πόλεμον πραχθέντων· ἀλλ' οὐκ 10  
 ἐποιοῦν τοῦτο, οὐδ' ἐγγύς. καίτοι τότε ταῦτα ἀμ- 97  
 φότερα, Αἰσχίνη, οὐθ' ὑπὲρ εὐεργετῶν ἐποιοῦν, οὐτ'  
 ἀκίνδυν' ἐώρων. ἀλλ' οὐ διὰ ταῦτα προτέντο τοὺς  
 καταφεύγοντας ἐφ' ἑαυτοὺς, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ εὐδοξίας καὶ  
 τιμῆς ἤθελον τοῖς δεινοῖς αὐτοὺς διδόναι, ὁρθῶς καὶ 5  
 καλῶς βουλευόμενοι. πέρας μὲν γὰρ ἅπασιν ἀν-  
 θρώποις ἐστὶ τοῦ βίου θάνατος, καὶ ἐν οἰκίσκῳ τις  
 αὐτὸν καθεύξας τηρῇ· δεῖ δὲ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας  
 ἐγχειρεῖν μὲν ἅπασιν αἰεὶ τοῖς καλοῖς, τὴν ἀγαθὴν  
 προβαλλομένους ἐλπίδα, φέρειν δ' ἂν ὁ θεὸς διδῶ 10  
 γυνναίως. ταῦτ' ἐποιοῦν οἱ ὑμέτεροι πρόγονοι, ταῦθ' 98

7. οὐ πολλαῖς ἡμέραις: according to the accepted chronology, the battle of Haliartus was in the autumn of 395 B.C., and that of Corinth in the summer of 394, in the year of Eubulides. The Corinthian war was the result of a combination of Athenians, Corinthians, Boeotians, Euboeans, Argives, and others against Sparta. In the battle of Corinth, the Spartans were victorious. See Grote IX. 426—429. The beautiful monument, representing a young warrior on horseback, now standing near the Dipylon gate of Athens, was erected in honour of Dexileos, one of the Athenian horsemen slain in this battle. The inscription is:

Δεξιλέως Λυσανίου Θορικός.

ἐγένετο ἐπὶ Τεισάνδρου ἀρχοντος,

ἀπέθανε ἐπ' Εὐβουλίδου

ἐγ Κορίνθῳ τῶν πέντε ἱππέων.

8. πόλλ' ἂν ἐχόντων (πόλλ' ἂν εἶχον), i.e. they might have done so, *potuissent*.

10. Δεκελεικὸν πόλεμον, a name

often given to the last years of the Peloponnesian war (413—404 B.C.) when the Spartans held a fort at Decelea in Attica.

11. οὐδ' ἐγγύς: cf. § 12<sup>8</sup>.

§ 97. 6. πέρας μὲν...τηρῇ: this was celebrated as a gnomic saying in various forms. The meaning is not the flat truism, "death is the end of all men's lives," but *all men's lives have a fixed limit in death*, and this is made a ground for devoting our lives to noble ends, for which it is worthy to die.

7. ἐν οἰκίσκῳ, in a chamber: ἀντὶ τοῦ μικρῷ τινι οἰκῆματι, Harpocration.

10. προβαλλομένους ἐλπίδα, *protecting themselves by hope (holding it before them, as a shield)*. See Menand. fr. 572 (Kock):

ὅταν τι πράττης δοῖον, ἀγαθὴν ἐλπίδα  
 πρόβαλλε σαυτῷ, τοῦτο γιγνώσκων ὅτι  
 τόλμη δικαίη καὶ θεὸς συλλαμβάνει.

Cf. § 195<sup>13</sup>.

§ 98. 1. πρόγονοι: see note on § 95<sup>8</sup>.

ὑμεῖς οἱ πρεσβύτεροι. οἱ Λακεδαιμονίους οὐ φίλους  
 ὄντας οὐδ' εὐεργέτας, ἀλλὰ πολλὰ τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν  
 ἡδίκηκότας καὶ μεγάλα, ἐπειδὴ Θηβαῖοι κρατήσαντες  
 ἐν Δεύκτροις ἀνελεῖν ἐπεχείρουν, διεκωλύσατε, οὐ 5  
 259 φοβηθέντες τὴν τότε Θηβαίοις ῥώμην καὶ δόξαν  
 ὑπάρχουσαν, οὐδ' ὑπὲρ οἷα πεποιηκότων ἀνθρώπων !  
 κινδυνεύσετε διαλογισάμενοι· καὶ γάρ τοι πᾶσι τοῖς 90  
 "Ἐλλησιν ἐδείξατε ἐκ τούτων ὅτι, κὰν ὅτιοῦν τις εἰς  
 ὑμᾶς ἐξαμάρτη, τούτων τὴν ὀργὴν εἰς τὰλλ' ἔχετε,  
 εἰάν δ' ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας ἢ ἐλευθερίας κίνδυνός τις  
 αὐτοὺς καταλαμβάνῃ, οὔτε μνησικακήσετε οὐθ' ὑπο- 5  
 λογείσθε. καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ τούτων μόνον οὕτως ἐσχή-  
 κατε, ἀλλὰ πάλιν σφετεριζομένων Θηβαίων τὴν

2. ὑμεῖς: cf. *παρ' ἡμῶν τῶν πρεσ-  
 βυτέρων*, XX. 52.—*Λακεδαιμονίους*,  
 obj. of *ἀνελεῖν* (5), *διεκωλύσατε* hav-  
 ing *τοὺς Θηβαίους*, or perhaps simply  
*τὸ πρᾶγμα*, understood as its object.  
 From the position of *Λακ.* we should  
 expect it to belong to the leading  
 verb.

4. *κρατήσαντες ἐν Δεύκτροις*:  
 the "Leuctric insolence" of Thebes  
 (Diod. XVI. 58), which made her  
 rather than Sparta the natural enemy  
 of Athens from 371 to 339 B.C., was  
 notorious. See §§ 18<sup>6</sup> and 36<sup>2</sup>. In  
 370 Epaminondas with a Theban  
 army invaded Laconia and marched  
 up to the city of Sparta itself; but he  
 did not venture to enter the unwall-  
 ed town and withdrew into Arcadia. At  
 this time he established Messene and  
 Megalopolis, to hold Sparta in check.  
 In this trying emergency, Sparta  
 humiliated herself so far as to ask  
 help from her old enemy, Athens.  
 Her request was granted, and Iphi-  
 crates was sent into Peloponnesus  
 to the aid of Sparta with 12,000  
 Athenians in the spring of 369 B.C.  
 This saved Sparta from another in-  
 vasion at this time. The alliance

then formed remained unbroken,  
 though sometimes strained, until after  
 the battle of Mantinea in 362 B.C., in  
 which Athens fought on the side of  
 Sparta.

7. *ὑπὲρ οἷα περ. ἀνθρώπων*, i.e.  
*what the men had done for whom*.

§ 99. 3. *τούτων*, for *this*, refer-  
 ring to *ὅτιοῦν*, as *ὅστις* can always  
 have a plural antecedent.

4. *ὑπὲρ*, concerning, involving.

5. *μνησικακήσετε... ὑπολογείσθε*:  
*μνησικακεῖν*, though usually intransi-  
 tive (cf. § 101<sup>6</sup>), may have an ac-  
 cusative, as *μνησικακήσαι τὴν ἡλικίαν*,  
*Ar. Nub. 999*. Thus both verbs may  
 here have the same object, suggested  
 by *ὅτιοῦν*.

6. *ἐπὶ τούτων μόνον*: cf. XV. 15,  
*τῷ Ῥοδίων δήμῳ μόνον*, and IX. 57,  
*παρὰ τούτοις μόνον*. In these cases  
*μόνον* modifies the whole sentence  
 loosely as an adverb, where we  
 should expect the adjective *μόνων*  
 or *μόνῳ* with the noun. We are  
 often careless about the position of  
*only*; as "he only went to London  
 once."

7. *σφετεριζομένων τὴν Εὐβοίαν*:  
 cf. 71<sup>1</sup>. Euboea had been under the

Εὐβοίαν οὐ περιεΐδετε, οὐδ' ὦν ὑπὸ Θεμισώωνος καὶ Θεοδώρου περὶ Ὀρωπὸν ἡδίκησθε ἀνεμνήσθητε, ἀλλ' ἐβοηθήσατε καὶ τούτοις, τῶν ἐβελοντῶν τότε 10 τριηράρχων πρῶτον γενομένων τῇ πόλει, ὦν εἰς ἣν ἐγώ. ἀλλ' οὕτω περὶ τούτων. καὶ καλὸν μὲν ἐποιή- 100 σατε καὶ τὸ σῶσαι τὴν νῆσον, πολλῶ δ' ἔτι τούτου κάλλιον τὸ καταστάντες κύριοι καὶ τῶν σωμάτων καὶ τῶν πόλεων ἀποδοῦναι ταῦτα δικαίως αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἐξημαρτηκόσιν εἰς ὑμᾶς, μηδὲν ὦν ἡδίκησθε 5 ἐν οἷς ἐπιστεύθητε ὑπολογισάμενοι. μυρία τοῖνυν ἕτερ' εἰπεῖν ἔχων παραλείπω, ναυμαχίας, ἐξόδους πεζὰς, στρατείας καὶ πάσαις γεγονυίας καὶ νῦν ἐφ'

control of Thebes since Leuctra, but in 357 B.C. a Theban army was sent to quiet some disturbances in the island. The Athenians with great energy sent an army to Euboea, and drove the whole Theban force from the island in thirty days. This is the famous expedition to which the orators always referred with pride. See Dem. viii. 74, 75, iv. 17; Grote xi. ch. 86, pp. 306—309; and Hist. § 2.

8. οὐ περιεΐδετε: cf. διεκωλύσατε, § 98<sup>6</sup>.—Θεμισώωνος: a tyrant of Eretria, who in 366 B.C. took from Athens the frontier town of Oropus and gave it to Thebes. (Grote x. ch. 79, p. 392.) Oropus had long been a bone of contention between Athens and Thebes. It was stipulated that Thebes should now hold the town only until the right to it could be settled by arbitration (μέχρι δίκης, Xen. Hell. vii. 4, 1). The "case of Oropus" was a protracted one; and it is said that Demosthenes as a boy was first inspired with a passion for oratory by hearing an eloquent plea of Callistratus in defence of the rights of Athens (Plut. Dem. 5).

10. τούτοις: the Euboeans.—τῶν ἐβελοντῶν...τῇ πόλει, i.e. the state then for the first time obtained the services (γενομένων) of volunteer trierarchs (ἐβελονταί): τῶν, because these became an institution.

12. ἀλλ' οὕτω περὶ τούτων: this may look forward to the orator's account of his public services in § 267, or possibly to the discussion of his trierarchic reform in §§ 102—109. οὕτω: sc. λέξω, but in xix. 200, μήπω ταῦτα: sc. ἐπωμην.

§ 100. 2. καὶ τὸ σῶσαι τὴν νῆσον, even saving the island, i.e. this by itself, opposed to πολλῶ δ'... κάλλιον, sc. ἐποιήσατε.

5. μηδὲν.....ὑπολογισάμενοι: μηδὲν shows that the participial clause is closely connected with τὸ ἀποδοῦναι, not with ἐποιήσατε (understood). G. 1611. The meaning is *without taking into account*, rather than *not taking into account*.

6. ἐν οἷς ἐπιστεύθητε (for ἐν ἐκεῖνοῖς δ'), representing the active πιστεύειν ταῦτα ὑμῖν, as ὦν ἡδίκησθε represents ἀδικεῖν ταῦτα ὑμᾶς.

7. ἐξόδους πεζὰς, land expeditions (after ναυμαχίας); στρατείας, campaigns.

ἡμῶν αὐτῶν, ἃς ἀπάσας ἡ πόλις τῆς τῶν ἄλλων  
 Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας καὶ σωτηρίας πεποιῶται. εἴτ' 101  
 ἐγὼ τεθεωρηκῶς ἐν τοσούτοις καὶ τοιούτοις τὴν  
 πόλιν ὑπὲρ τῶν τοῖς ἄλλοις συμφερόντων ἐθέλου-  
 σαν ἀγωνίζεσθαι, ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τρόπον τινὰ τῆς  
 βουλῆς οὔσης, τί ἔμελλον κελεύσειν ἢ τί συμβου- 5  
 λέυσειν αὐτῇ ποιεῖν; μνησικακεῖν νῆ Δία πρὸς  
 τοὺς βουλομένους σῶζεσθαι, καὶ προφάσεις ζητεῖν  
 260 δι' ἃς ἅπαντα προησόμεθα. καὶ τίς οὐκ ἂν ἀπέ-  
 κτεινέ με δικαίως, εἴ τι τῶν ὑπαρχόντων τῇ πόλει  
 καλῶν λόγῳ μόνον καταισχύνειν ἐπεχείρησ' ἂν; ἐπεὶ 10  
 τό γε ἔργον οὐκ ἂν ἐποιήσαθ' ὑμεῖς, ἀκριβῶς οἶδ'  
 ἐγώ· εἰ γὰρ ἐβούλεσθε, τί ἦν ἐμποδῶν; οὐκ ἐξῆν;  
 οὐχ ὑπῆρχον οἱ ταῦτ' ἐροῦντες οὗτοι;

9, 10. τῆς...σωτηρίας, rare genitive of purpose or motive, generally found with ἕνεκα, which is added here in most MSS. So XIX. 76, πᾶς ἀπάτη καὶ τέχνη συνεσκευάσθη τοῦ περὶ Φωκέας δλέθρου, with similar variety of reading. (See G. 1127.) The infinitive with τοῦ is common in this construction, especially in Thucydides (M.T. 798): an example occurs in § 107<sup>2</sup>, τοῦ μὴ ποιεῖν.

§ 101. 4. ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς...οὔσης, when the question in a manner concerned herself.

6. νῆ Δία, in bitter irony: cf. XX. 161.

8. δι' ἃς προησόμεθα (excuses) for sacrificial (final).

9. ὑπαρχόντων (cf. § 95<sup>5</sup>): the glories (καλά) are viewed as a public possession.

10. ἐπεχείρησ' ἂν (M.T. 506): there is no objection here to εἰ ἐπεχείρησ' ἂν, as to either grammar or sense. It is amply justified by XIX. 172: εἰ μὴ διὰ τὸ τούτους βούλεσθαι σῶσαι, ἐξώλης ἀπολομένην καὶ προώλης

εἰ προσλαβὼν γ' ἂν ἀργύριον πᾶν πολὺ μετὰ τούτων ἐπρέσβενσα. There εἰ ἐπρέσβενσα ἂν is if I would have gone on the embassy, as εἰ ἐπεχείρησα ἂν here is if I would have undertaken (for any consideration). There may be a justification of ἐπεχείρησ' ἂν in the following τὸ γ' ἔργον οὐκ ἂν ἐποιήσαθ' ὑμεῖς, you would not have done the thing in reality (ἔργῳ), opposed to the preceding supposition, if I had been capable of undertaking it even in word (λόγῳ).

13. οὐχ ὑπῆρχον...οὔτοι; were not these men here ready to tell you this? ταῦτα refers to μνησικακεῖν...προησόμεθα (6—8).

§§ 102—109. The orator defends his Trierarchic Law against the attacks of Aeschines. This important measure was enacted in 340 B.C., at about the time of the outbreak of the war with Philip (see § 107<sup>6</sup>). For an account of the trierarchy at Athens, see Boeckh's Staatsh. d. Athener, I. Book 4, ch. 11—16.

Βούλομαι τοίνυν ἐπανελθεῖν ἐφ' ἃ τούτων ἐξῆς 102  
 ἐπολιτευόμεν· καὶ σκοπεῖτε ἐν τούτοις πάλιν αὐτὶ  
 τὸ τῇ πόλει βέλτιστον ἦν. ὁρῶν γὰρ, ὦ ἄνδρες  
 Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸ ναυτικὸν ὑμῶν καταλυόμενον, καὶ τοὺς  
 μὲν πλουσίους ἄτελεῖς ἀπὸ μικρῶν ἀναλωμάτων 5  
 γιγνομένους, τοὺς δὲ μέτρι' ἢ μικρὰ κεκτημένους τῶν  
 πολιτῶν τὰ ὄντ' ἀπολλύοντας, ἔτι δ' ὑστερίζουσιν  
 ἐκ τούτων τὴν πόλιν τῶν καιρῶν, ἔθηκα νόμον καθ'  
 ὃν τοὺς μὲν τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν ἠνάγκασα, [τοὺς πλου-  
 σίους,] τοὺς δὲ πένητας ἔπαυσ' ἀδικουμένους, τῇ 10  
 πόλει δ' ὅπερ ἦν χρησιμώτατον, ἐν καιρῷ γίνεσθαι  
 τὰς παρασκευὰς ἐποίησα. καὶ γραφεῖς τὸν ἀγῶνα 103  
 τοῦτον εἰς ὑμᾶς εἰσῆλθον καὶ ἀπέφυγον, καὶ τὸ  
 μέρος τῶν ψήφων ὃ διώκων οὐκ ἔλαβεν. καίτοι  
 πόσα χρήματα τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῶν συμμοριῶν ἦ

§ 102. 4. καταλυόμενον, *breaking up*: notice the following descriptive present participles.

5. ἀτελεῖς...γιγνομένους, *becoming exempt* (from all 'liturgies') by small payments. As all the members of a *συντέλεια* (under the former system) were assessed equally for the support of their ship, the richer *συντελεῖς* might satisfy the law (as in the case supposed in § 104) by paying  $\frac{1}{8}$  of the expense of one ship; and as no one could be required to take more than one 'liturgy' in the same year, they would thus be exempt from all other services. But the richest of all, the leaders of the symmories (§ 103<sup>4</sup>), sometimes ingeniously used their legal duty of advancing the money for the trierarchy in case of special necessity as a means of avoiding even their own legal share of the expense. They could bargain with a contractor to do all the work for a fixed sum (e.g. a talent), which they advanced, afterwards assessing this whole sum, or

an unfair part of it, on their poorer colleagues. See Dem. xxi. 155.

7. τὰ ὄντ' ἀπολλύοντας, *losing what they had*: a strong expression of the injustice to which the poorer *συντελεῖς* were liable.—ὑστερίζουσιν...τῶν καιρῶν, as we say, *behind time*.

9. [τοὺς πλουσίους]: these words probably crept into the text as an explanation of τοὺς μὲν, which needs no such note. The text is very doubtful, though the sense is clear.

§ 103. 1. γραφεῖς: sc. *παρανόμων*. —τὸν ἀγῶνα τοῦτον...εἰσῆλθον, i.e. *I stood (entered on) my trial on this issue before you, εἰς ὑμᾶς* implying *coming into court*. τοῦτον refers to *γραφεῖς*, meaning the trial which followed his being indicted. Cf. *εἰσῆλθον τὴν γραφὴν*, § 105<sup>2</sup>.

2. τὸ μέρος (sc. *πέμπτον*): cf. § 266<sup>6</sup>. See note on § 82<sup>9</sup>.

4. ἡγεμόνας τῶν συμμοριῶν, *leaders of the symmories*, here probably the symmories of the trierarchy, though the term commonly refers to the 300

τοὺς δευτέρους καὶ τρίτους οἷσθ' ἐμοὶ διδόναι, ὥστε 5  
 μάλιστα μὲν μὴ θείναι τὸν νόμον τοῦτον, εἰ δὲ μὴ,  
 καταβάλλοντ' ἔαν ἐν ὑπωμοσίᾳ; τοσαῦτ', ὧ ἄνδρες  
 Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅσα ὀκνήσαιμ' ἂν πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰπεῖν. καὶ  
 ταῦτ' εἰκότως ἔπραττον ἐκείνοι. ἦν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐκ 104  
 μὲν τῶν προτέρων νόμων συνεκαῖδεκα λητουργεῖν,  
 αὐτοῖς μὲν μικρὰ καὶ οὐδὲν ἀναλίσκουσι, τοὺς δ'

richest citizens (οἱ τριακόσιοι, § 171<sup>5</sup>), who were leaders of the symmories of the property-tax (εἰσφορά). Under the system which prevailed from 357 to 340 B.C., the 1200 richest citizens, who alone were liable to the duty of the trierarchy, were divided into 20 symmories, regularly of 60 men each. But exemption or changes in property might reduce the whole number of 1200 and the number in each symmory in any year. To each of these symmories was assigned a number of triremes to be fitted out in each year, regulated by the needs of the state. The symmory divided itself into smaller bodies (συντέλειαι), each of which equipped a single ship. The expense was borne equally by all the members, without regard to their wealth. Each symmory probably had a single leader, and the 20 leaders, with the two classes called δεῦτεροι and τρίτοι (who are not mentioned elsewhere), evidently belonged to the τριακόσιοι, perhaps including all of that class in the symmories (15 in each). The new law of Demosthenes imposed the burden of the trierarchy on the members of each symmory according to their taxable property, thus greatly increasing the assessment of the richer and diminishing that of the poorer members. Of this a striking case is given in § 104<sup>6,7</sup>.

5. διδόναι, offered, representing ἐδίδουσαν, which appears in § 104<sup>10</sup>.

6. μάλιστα μὲν, above all things,

opposed to εἰ δὲ μὴ, otherwise, if not (M.T. 478).—μὴ θείναι, not to enact; see next note.

7. καταβάλλοντ' ἔαν ἐν ὑπωμοσίᾳ, to drop it and let it lie under notice of indictment (lit. under the prosecutor's oath to bring an indictment). Whenever anyone brought a γραφή παρανόμων against a law or decree, he was required to bind himself by an oath, called ὑπωμοσία, to prosecute the case. This had the effect of suspending the law or decree if it was already finally passed, or of stopping a decree which had passed only the Senate (i.e. a προβούλευμα) from being voted on by the Assembly, until the γραφή παρανόμων could be tried. (See Essay II.) The meaning here is that Demosthenes was offered large sums if he would either decline to bring his new law before the νομοθεταὶ (μὴ θείναι) or else quietly let it drop (ἔαν) when a γραφή παρανόμων was brought against it after it was passed.

§ 104. 1. ἦν...λητουργεῖν, i.e. they might perform the service (of the trierarchy) in bodies of sixteen: this is probably stated as an extreme case under the old law, in contrast with an equally extreme case of a man with two whole triremes to support under the new law. A συντέλεια of sixteen implies a change from 60 in the size of the symmory: see note on § 103<sup>4</sup>.

3. αὐτοῖς μὲν, themselves (ipsis), opposed to τοὺς δ' ἀπόρους.—μικρὰ καὶ οὐδὲν: see note on § 102<sup>5</sup>.

261 ἀπόρους τῶν πολιτῶν ἐπιτρίβουσιν, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἐμοῦ νόμου τὸ γιγνόμενον κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν ἑκαστον τιθέ- 5 ναι, καὶ δυοῖν ἐφάνη τριήραρχος, ὁ τῆς μῆς ἑκτος καὶ δέκατος πρότερον συντελής· οὐδὲ γὰρ τριηράρχους ἔτ' ὠνόμαζον ἑαυτοὺς, ἀλλὰ συντελεῖς. ὥστε δὴ ταῦτα λυθῆναι καὶ μὴ τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν ἀναγκασθῆναι, οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅ τι οὐκ ἐδίδονσαν. καὶ μοι λέγε πρῶτον 105 μὲν τὸ ψήφισμα καθ' ὃ εἰσῆλθον τὴν γράφην, εἶτα τοὺς καταλόγους, τὸν τ' ἐκ τοῦ προτέρου νόμου καὶ τὸν κατὰ τὸν ἐμόν. λέγε.

## ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

5

[Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Πολυκλέους, μὲν δὲ βοηδρομῶνος ἔκτη ἐπὶ δέκα, φυλῆς πρυτανεύουσας Ἱπποθωντίδος, Δημοσθένους Δημοσθένους Παιανιεύς εἰσήνεγκε νόμον τριηραρχικὸν ἀντὶ τοῦ προτέρου, καθ' ὃν αἱ συντέλεια ἦσαν τῶν τριηράρχων· καὶ ἐπεχειροτόνησεν ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος· καὶ ἀπήνεγκε 10

4. ἐπιτρίβουσιν, *distressing* (*grinding*).

5. τὸ γιγνόμενον τιθέναι, *to pay their quota* (*what fell to each*): cf. *τιθέναι τὰς εἰσφοράς*, XXII. 42.—*κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν*, *according to his property*: *κατὰ τὸ τίμημα*, *according to his valuation*, would be more strictly accurate, as the *τίμημα*, or *taxable property*, in different classes bore a differing proportion to the *οὐσία*.

6. δυοῖν...συντελής: it was a possible case that a man who had been assessed (as supposed above) for only one-sixteenth part of the expense of one ship might be compelled to pay for two whole ships under the new law. *τριήραρχος* suggests *τριήρουν* and *τριήρους* with *δυοῖν* and *μῆς*.

8. συντελεῖς, *partners* in a *συντέλεια*: sixteen trierarchs of a single ship, of whom perhaps no one even saw the ship, were absurd!

10. ἐδίδονσαν, *offered*: cf. *διδόνα* as imperfect in § 103<sup>6</sup>.

§ 105. 2. *ψήφισμα*: this cannot be the trierarchic law itself, which was no *ψήφισμα*; but a decree passed after the *ὑπωμοσία*, which may have ordered the suspension of the law or have provided for the trial of the case.—*καθ' ὃ*=*secundum quod*, *ex quo*, not *propter quod* (see West.).

3. *τοὺς καταλόγους*: the stupidity of the interpolator of the false documents never shows to greater advantage than in the two fragments of a pretended decree given as *κατάλογοι* in § 106. The real documents were two lists of citizens of various degrees of wealth, with statements of their assessments for the trierarchy under the old law and under the law of Demosthenes. The contrast between the two called forth the question with which § 107 begins. The document in § 105 is not a decree, but a memorandum.

παρανόμων Δημοσθένει Πατροκλῆς Φλυεὺς, καὶ τὸ μέρος τῶν ψήφων οὐ λαβὼν ἀπέτισε τὰς πεντακοσίας δραχμάς.]

Φέρε δὴ καὶ τὸν καλὸν κατάλογον.

108

### ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ.

[Τοὺς τριηράρχους καλεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν τριήρη συνεκαίδεκα ἐκ τῶν ἐν τοῖς λόχοις συντελειῶν, ἀπὸ εἴκοσι καὶ πέντε ἐτῶν εἰς τετταράκοντα, ἐπὶ ἴσον τῇ χορηγίᾳ χρωμένους.] 5

Φέρε δὴ παρὰ τούτου τὸν ἐκ τοῦ ἐμοῦ νόμου κατάλογον.

262

### ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ.

[Τοὺς τριηράρχους αἰρεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν τριήρη ἀπὸ τῆς οὐσίας κατὰ τίμησιν, ἀπὸ ταλάντων δέκα· ἐὰν δὲ πλείονων ἢ οὐσία ἀποτετιμημένη ἢ χρημάτων, κατὰ τὸν ἀναλογισμὸν ἕως τριῶν πλοίων καὶ ὑπηρετικοῦ ἢ λειτουργία ἔστω. κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν δὲ ἀναλογίαν ἔστω καὶ οἷς ἐλάττων οὐσία ἐστὶ τῶν δέκα ταλάντων, εἰς συντέλειαν συναγομένους εἰς τὰ δέκα τάλαντα.] 15

\* Ἄρα μικρὰ βοηθῆσαι τοῖς πένησιν ὑμῶν δοκῶ, ἢ μίкр' ἀναλῶσαι ἂν τοῦ μὴ τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν ἐθέλειν οἱ πλούσιοι; αὐτοῖν μόνον τῷ μὴ καθυφεῖναι ταῦτα σέμνυνομαι, οὐδὲ τῷ γραφεῖς ἀποφυγεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ συμφέροντα θεῖναι τὸν νόμον καὶ τῷ πείραν 5

§ 107. 2. μίкр' ἀναλῶσαι ἂν... ἐθέλειν, *does it seem likely that the rich would have been willing to spend (only) a little to escape doing justice?* With οἱ πλούσιοι supply δοκοῦσιν from δοκῶ in l. 1 (see M.T. 754). ἀναλῶσαι depends on ἐθέλειν ἂν, which represents ἤθελον ἂν. τοῦ μὴ ποιεῖν is genitive of purpose (cf. § 100<sup>9</sup>).

3. καθυφεῖναι, *drorring*: cf. καταβάλλοντα, § 103<sup>7</sup>.

5. συμφέροντα θεῖναι τὸν νόμον:

cf. πτηνὰς διώκει τὰς ἐλπίδας, Eur. frag. 273.—τῷ πείραν δεδωκέναι, *on the law having given a test of itself* (sc. τὸν νόμον αὐτοῦ). See § 195<sup>12</sup>, α γε μὴδὲ πείραν ἔδωκε, with note; xxiv. 24, πείραν αὐτῶν πολλάκις δεδῶκασιν (sc. οἱ νόμοι) (with αὐτῶν expressed); Thuc. i. 138<sup>9</sup> (of Themistocles), ἀπὸ τοῦ πείραν διδοῦς ξυνετὸς φαινεσθαι, i.e. *on trial*. Compare the perfect δεδωκέναι with the timeless aorists which precede (M.T. 109, 96).

ἔργῳ δεδωκέναι. πάντα γὰρ τὸν πόλεμον τῶν ἀποστόλων γιγνομένων κατὰ τὸν νόμον τὸν ἑμὸν, οὐχ ἰκετηρίαν ἔθηκε τριήραρχος οὐδεὶς πάποθ' ὡς ἀδικούμενος παρ' ὑμῖν, οὐκ ἐν Μουνυχίᾳ ἐκαθέζετο, οὐχ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐδέθη, οὐ τριήρης οὐτ' ἔξω κατα- 10 λειφθεὶς ἀπώλετο τῇ πόλει, οὐτ' αὐτοῦ ἀπελείφθη οὐ δυναμένη ἀνάγεσθαι. καίτοι κατὰ τοὺς προτέρους νόμους 108 ἅπαντα ταῦτα ἐγίνετο. τὸ δ' αἴτιον, ἐν τοῖς πένησιν ἦν τὸ λητούργειν· πολλὰ δὲ τὰ δύνατα συνέβαινε. ἐγὼ δ' ἐκ τῶν ἀπόρων εἰς τοὺς εὐπόρους μετήνεγκα τὰς τριηραρχίας· πάντ' οὖν τὰ δέοντ' 5 ἐγίνετο. καὶ μὴν καὶ κατ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἄξιός εἰμι ἐπαίνου τυχεῖν, ὅτι πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα προηρούμην πολιτεύματα, ἀφ' ὧν ἅμα δόξαι καὶ τιμαὶ καὶ δυνάμεις συνέβαινον τῇ πόλει· βάσκανον δὲ καὶ πικρὸν 263 καὶ κακὸς ἦεν οὐδέν ἐστι πολίτευμα· ἑμὸν, οὐδὲ ταπει-

6. ἀποστόλων: see § 80<sup>1</sup>; and cf. IV. 35, τοὺς δ' ἀποστόλους πάντας ὑμῖν ὑπερτίθειν τῶν καιρῶν.

8. ἰκετηρίαν (sc. βάβδον), suppliant's bough, generally of olive, bound with wool, which a suppliant laid on the altar of a divinity whose succour he invoked.

9. ἐν Μουνυχίᾳ: ἔνθα ἐστὶν ἱερὸν Μουνυχίας Ἀρτέμιδος· κάκεῖ ἔφευγον οἵτινες τῶν τριηράρχων ἠδικοῦντο, ἡ ναῦται ἢ τινες τῶν ἐξεταζομένων ἐν τῇ Πειραιεῖ (Schol.). See Lys. XIII. 24, καθίζουσιν ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν Μουνυχίαςιν. Munychia is the high hill of the peninsula of Piraeus.

10. ἀποστόλων: see Bekk. Anecd. 435, 29: ἀποστολεῖς: δέκα τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἄρχοντες ἦσαν, οἱ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκπομπῆς τῶν πλεουσῶν τριήρων καὶ τῶν ἀπαγομένων στόλων ἀποδειγμένοι. They were chosen for each occasion, and had charge of supplying the trierarchs with rigging and other material for the triremes from the public stores,

and of seeing that these were properly restored at the end of the voyage.

10, 11. ἔξω καταλειφθεὶς, abandoned at sea; αὐτοῦ ἀπελείφθη, was left behind in port.—αὐτοῦ, on the spot, i.e. in port, where she was lying: ἐν τῷ λιμένι ἀνεπισκεύαστος (Schol.). See Plat. Rep. 371 C, αὐτοῦ μένοντας περὶ τὴν ἀγοράν.

§ 108. 2. τὸ δ' αἴτιον, without ὅτι, like σημείον δέ and τεκμήριον δέ: cf. VIII. 32.

3. λητούργειν: the η here is settled by inscriptions.—ἀδύνατα, cases of impossibility.

7. προηρούμην: cf. προαίρεσις, § 93<sup>4</sup>.

8. δυνάμεις, power (of various kinds): cf. §§ 44<sup>8</sup>, 233<sup>2</sup>, 237<sup>6</sup>.

9. βάσκανον, malicious: see Harpocr., ἀντὶ τοῦ φιλαίτιον καὶ συκοφαντικόν.

10. κακὸς ἦεν, low-principled: see ἦθος, § 109<sup>1</sup>.

νὸν, οὐδὲ τῆς πόλεως ἀνάξιον. ταῦτὸ τοίνυν ἦθος 109  
 ἔχων ἔν τε τοῖς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν πολιτεύμασι καὶ ἐν  
 τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς φανήσομαι· οὔτε γὰρ ἐν τῇ πόλει  
 τὰς παρὰ τῶν πλουσίων χάριτας μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ τῶν  
 πολλῶν δίκαια εἰλόμην, οὔτ' ἐν τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς τὰ 5  
 Φιλίππου δῶρα καὶ τὴν ξενίαν ἡγάπησ' ἀντὶ τῶν  
 κοινῇ πᾶσι τοῖς Ἑλλήσι συμφερόντων.

Ἰγούμαι τοίνυν λοιπὸν εἰ μὴ μοι περὶ τοῦ κηρύγ- 110  
 ματος εἰπεῖν καὶ τῶν εὐθυνῶν· τὸ γὰρ ὡς τᾶριστα τ'  
 ἔπραττον καὶ διὰ παντὸς εὖνους εἰμὶ καὶ πρόθυμος  
 εὖ ποιεῖν ὑμᾶς, ἱκανῶς ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων δεδηλωσθαι  
 μοι νομίζω. καίτοι τὰ μέγιστα γε τῶν πεπολιτευ- 5  
 μένων καὶ πεπραγμένων ἐμαντῶ παραλείπω, ὑπολαμ-  
 βάνων πρῶτον μὲν ἐφεξῆς τοὺς περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ παρα-

§ 109. 1. ἦθος, principles (of action), political character: see note on § 114<sup>2</sup>.

2. ἐν τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς, opposed to ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν: see 59<sup>2</sup>.

3. ἀντὶ, rather than, like μᾶλλον ἢ (4).

§§ 110-121 contain the reply to the last two arguments of Aeschines, that on the responsibility of Demosthenes as an ἀρχων at the time when Ctesiphon proposed his decree (§§ 111-119), and that on the place of proclamation (§§ 120, 121). § 110 is introductory. §§ 122-125 are a peroration to the division of the argument beginning with § 53.

§ 110. 1. περὶ τοῦ κηρύγματος, i.e. about the place of proclamation, this being the only point in dispute under this head.

2. τῶν εὐθυνῶν: this concerns only the question whether Demosthenes was a "responsible magistrate" when Ctesiphon proposed to crown him.—τὸ γὰρ...ὑμᾶς, i.e. the statement in Ctesiphon's decree that I did etc., subj. of δεδηλωσθαι (4): with this

reference to the words of the decree cf. 57<sup>1</sup>.

5. τὰ μέγιστα refers especially to his intention public services in the year before Chaeronea (339-338), the account of which comes in later with far greater effect.

6. παραλείπω, I leave aside (not necessarily I omit). This whole passage is full of rhetorical art. He has no intention whatever of omitting these acts; but he skilfully implies that his earlier acts, already related, are ample for the legal justification of Ctesiphon, so that he could afford to leave his greatest achievements unmentioned. He also diverts attention from the weakness of his argument on the εὐθυναί by placing it between two most effective political harangues. See Essay I. § 5.

7. ἐφεξῆς, in due order: cf. § 56<sup>3</sup>, οὐδὲν ἐκὼν παραλείψω, where he simply states his general purpose of giving a full account of his public life.—αὐτοῦ τοῦ παρανόμου, the strict question of illegality, with which alone the γραφὴ παρανόμων is properly concerned.

νόμου λόγους ἀποδοῦναί με δεῖν, εἴτα, κἂν μηδὲν εἶπω περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν πολιτευμάτων, ὁμοίως πρὶ ὑμῶν ἐκάστω τὸ συνειδὸς ὑπάρχειν μοι.

10

Τῶν μὲν οὖν λόγων, οὓς οὗτος ἄνω καὶ κάτω 111  
διακυκλῶν ἔλεγε περὶ τῶν παραγεγραμμένων νόμων, οὔτε μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς οἶμαι ὑμᾶς μανθάνειν, οὔτ' αὐτὸς ἐδυνάμην συνεῖναι τοὺς πολλοὺς· ἀπλῶς δὲ τὴν ὀρθὴν περὶ τῶν δικαίων διαλέξομαι. τοσοῦτῳ γὰρ 5  
δέω λέγειν ὥς οὐκ εἰμὶ ὑπεύθυνος, ὃ νῦν οὗτος διέβαλλε καὶ διωρίζετο, ὥσθ' ἅπαντα τὸν βίον ὑπεύθυνος εἶναι ὁμολογῶ, ὧν ἡ διακεχείρικα ἢ πεπολίτευμαι παρ' ὑμῖν. ὧν μέντοι γ' ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας οὐσίας 112

9. ὁμοίως, *all the same*.—παρ' ὑμῶν...ὑπάρχειν μοι, *that I may rely on a consciousness of them in each of your minds*: cf. § 95<sup>b</sup> and note.

§ 111. 1. τῶν λόγων, depending on τοὺς πολλοὺς.—ἄνω καὶ κάτω διακυκλῶν, *mixing them in utter confusion*. See IX. 36, ἄνω καὶ κάτω πεποίηκε, and without καὶ IV. 41, συμπαραθεῖτε ἄνω κάτω, *up and down*.

2. παραγεγραμμένων: the laws which the indicted decree (τὸ φεῦγον ψήφισμα) was charged with violating were written on a tablet (σανίδιον) by its side, and this was posted in the court-room. See Aesch. III. 200: ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς τῶν παρανόμων παράκειται κανὼν τοῦ δικαίου τουτὶ τὸ σανίδιον καὶ τὸ ψήφισμα καὶ οἱ παραγεγραμμένοι νόμοι.

4. τὴν ὀρθὴν (sc. ὁδόν), as we say, *straightforward*: see Ar. Av. I, ὀρθὴν κελεύεις;

5. τῶν δικαίων, *the rights of the case*, opposed to τῶν λόγων (1).—τοσοῦτῳ δέω λέγειν, *I am so far from saying*: τοσοῦτῳ (Σ) with δέω as with comparatives: so in IX. 17. Most MSS. have τοσοῦτον in both passages.

6. διέβαλλε καὶ διωρίζετο: see § 4<sup>e</sup>.

8. ὧν...πεπολίτευμαι, i.e. *either for money that I have handled or for public acts that I have done*.

§ 112. The sophistical character of the argument of §§ 112—119 explains the anxiety of the orator to cover its weakness by its position in the oration. The reply of Aeschines (III. 17 ff.) to this ἀφυκτον λόγον, ὃν φησι Δημοσθένης, probably written or greatly modified after hearing this passage, is conclusive. The law quoted by Aesch. (II), τοὺς ὑπευθύνους μὴ στεφανοῦν, certainly made no exception for those who gave money to the state while in office. Indeed, this very claim is one which needed to be established by the εὐθυναί, in which it might be disputed: see Aesch. 23, ἔασον ἀμφισβητῆσαι σοι τὸν βουλόμενον τῶν πολιτῶν ὥς οὐκ ἐπέδωκας. The claim of Demosthenes at least amounts to this, that any officer who asserts that he has expended more in the service of the state than he received should be exempt from the law τοὺς ὑπευθύνους μὴ στεφανοῦν. The specious argument that a man cannot fairly be called to account for the expenditure of his own money on public

ἐπαγγεϊλάμενος δέδωκα τῷ δήμῳ, οὐδεμίαν ἡμέραν  
 264 ὑπεύθυνος εἶναι φημι (ἀκούεις, Αἰσχίνῃ;) οὐδ' ἄλλον  
 οὐδένα, οὐδ' ἂν τῶν ἐννέ' ἀρχόντων τις ὦν τύχη. τίς  
 γάρ ἐστι νόμος τοσαύτης ἀδικίας καὶ μισανθρωπίας 5  
 μεστός, ὥστε τὸν δόντα τι τῶν ἰδίων καὶ ποιήσαντα  
 πρᾶγμα φιλόανθρωπον καὶ φιλόδωρον τῆς χάριτος  
 μὲν ἀποστρεῖν, εἰς τοὺς συκοφάντας δ' ἄγειν, καὶ  
 τούτους ἐπὶ τὰς εὐθύνas ὧν ἔδωκεν ἐφιστάναι; οὐδὲ  
 εἰς. εἰ δέ φησιν οὗτος, δειξάτω, κἀγὼ στέρξω καὶ 10  
 σιωπήσομαι. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστιν, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀλλ' 113  
 οὗτος συκοφαντῶν, ὅτι ἐπὶ τῷ θεωρικῷ τότε ὡς ἐπέ-  
 δωκα τὰ χρήματα, ἐπήνεσεν αὐτὸν, φησὶν, ὑπεύ-  
 θυνονόντα. οὐ περὶ τούτων γ' οὐδενὸς ὧν ὑπεύ-

works could not release Demosthenes from εἶθυναί when he had obviously had public money in his hands.

1. ὦν μέντοι γ': γε emphasizes the whole relative clause.

2. ἐπαγγεϊλάμενος δέδωκα, have offered and given, i.e. have given by my free act, openly declared.

4. τῶν ἐννέ' ἀρχόντων: The Archons, as the chief magistrates and as candidates for the Areopagus, would be subject to special scrutiny at their εἶθυναί.

5. μισανθρωπίας, *misanthropy*, opposed to φιλόανθρωπον (7).

8. εἰς τοὺς συκοφάντας: ironical allusion to εἰς τοὺς λογιστάς, as if the sycophants were a board of officers (hence τοὺς).

9. τούτους... ἐφιστάναι, to set them to audit the accounts etc.

§ 113. 1. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστιν (sc. νόμος τοιοῦτος).

2. ἐπὶ τῷ θεωρικῷ ὧν, being treasurer of the Theoric Fund: for the importance of this office see Aesch. III. 25, 26, ending with Κτησιφῶν δὲ Δημοσθένην τὸν συλλήβδην ἀπάσας τὰς Ἀθήνησιν ἀρχὰς ἀρχοντα οὐκ ὥκησε

γράφαι στεφανοῦν.—ἐπέδωκα, properly gave in addition (to the public fund in his charge). Gifts to the state were often called ἐπιδόσεις: cf. note on § 171<sup>7</sup>.

3. ἐπήνεσεν αὐτὸν (sc. Κτησιφῶν) = ἔγραψεν ἐπαινεῖσαι. All mss. except Σ insert ἡ βουλὴ as subject of ἐπήνεσεν. The true subject appears in l. 10, ταῦτ' ἔγραψεν ὁ δὲ περὶ ἐμοῦ. ἐπαινεῖν, *compliment by a vote of thanks*, and στεφανοῦν are both used of the vote conferring the crown, which included a vote of thanks: see §§ 57<sup>4</sup>, 58<sup>2</sup>, 117<sup>2</sup>.

4. οὐ περὶ τούτων... ἐπέδωκα: this argument assumes that an ordinary ὑπεύθυνος could be crowned, before passing his εἶθυναί, for a gift to the state which was not connected with his office. But this was not the case with the gifts of Demosthenes. These were both closely connected with the funds which he held as an officer of state, and the argument of Aeschines (23) applies to them in its full force. Demosthenes says nothing which shows that Ctesiphon did not violate the letter and even the spirit

θννος ἦν, ἀλλ' ἐφ' οἷς ἐπέδωκα, ὧ συκοφάντα. ἀλλὰ 5  
καὶ τειχοποιὸς, ἡσθμ. καὶ διὰ γε τοῦτ' ὀρθῶς  
ἐπηνούμην, ὅτι ταῦτ' ἐδωκα καὶ οὐκ ἐλογι-  
ζόμην. ὁ μὲν γὰρ λογισμὸς εὐθυνῶν καὶ τῶν ἐξετά-  
σόντων προσδεῖται, ἡ δὲ δωρεὰ χάριτος καὶ ἐπαίνου  
δικαία ἐστὶ τυγχάνειν· διόπερ ταῦτ' ἔγραψεν ὁδὶ 10  
περὶ ἐμοῦ· ὅτι δ' οὕτω ταῦτ' οὐ μόνον ἐν τοῖς νό- 114  
μοις ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὑμετέροις ἡθεσὶν ὠρίσται,  
ἐγὼ ῥαδίως πολλαχόθεν δείξω. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ  
Ναυσικλῆς στρατηγὼν ἐφ' οἷς ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων προεῖτο  
πολλάκις ἐστεφάνωνται ὑφ' ὑμῶν· εἴθ' ὅτε τὰς ἀσπί- 5  
δας Διότιμος ἔδωκε καὶ πάλιν Χαρίδημος, ἐστεφα-  
νοῦντο· εἴθ' οὕτοσι Νεοπτόλεμος πολλῶν ἔργων ἐπι-  
στάτης ὦν, ἐφ' οἷς ἐπέδωκε τετίμηται. σχέτλιον γὰρ

of the law τοὺς ὑπευθύνους μὴ στεφανοῦν. And yet it is more than likely that the friends of Demosthenes, in their eagerness to crown him for his noble services, overlooked the technical obstacle to their action; and the court appears to have decided to overlook their oversight.

6. **τειχοποιὸς**, one of a board of commissioners appointed to superintend the repairs of the city walls. The argument seems to have been the same about both of the offices which Demosthenes held in 337—336 B.C. See Essay III. § 1.

8. **τῶν ἐξετασόντων** (=οἱ ἐξετάσουσι), *men to investigate*: the present would be simply *investigators*, with no temporal or final force.

§ 114. 2. **ἡθεσιν**, *your moral feelings*, which impel you to act thus. Cf. § 204<sup>2</sup>. Cf. *ἥθη*, *mores*, *morals*. See note on § 275<sup>3</sup>.

3. **πολλαχόθεν δείξω**: Aeschines anticipates or rather answers this argument in 193: λέγει δὲ ὁ φεύγων... οὐχ ὡς ἔννομα γέγραπεν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἥδη

ποτὲ καὶ πρότερον ἕτερος τοιαῦτα γράψας ἀπέφυγεν.

4. **Ναυσικλῆς**: the general who commanded the well-known expedition which stopped Philip at Thermopylae in 352 B.C.

6. **Διότιμος**: mentioned in XXI. 208 as a rich trierarch, included by Arrian (I. 10, 4) among the generals whom Alexander demanded after the destruction of Thebes.—**Χαρίδημος**: of Oreus, an adopted Athenian, the object of severe invective in the oration against Aristocrates (352 B.C.). He was first a guerrilla leader in the service of Athens, later one of the patriotic party, and was demanded by Alexander in 335.

7. **οὕτοσι** implies that Neoptolemus was well known in Athens.—**πολλῶν ἔργων ἐπιστάτης**: probably one of those called *δημοσίων ἔργων ἐπιστάται* by Aesch. (III. 29), specially appointed to direct special works.

8. **σχέτλιον ἂν εἴη... ὑπέξει**: for the peculiar form of conditional sentence see M.T. 503, 407.

ἂν εἴη τοῦτό γε, εἰ τῷ τιν' ἀρχὴν ἄρχοντι ἢ διδόναι  
 τῇ πόλει τὰ ἑαυτοῦ διὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν μὴ ἐξέσται, ἢ τῶν 10  
 265 δοθέντων, ἀντὶ τοῦ κομίσασθαι χάριν εὐθύνας ὑφέξει.  
 ὅτι τοῖνυν ταῦτ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, λέγε τὰ ψηφίσματά μοι 115  
 τὰ τούτοις γεγενημέν' αὐτὰ λαβών. λέγε.

## ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

[Ἄρχων Δημόνικος Φλυεὺς, βοηδρομῶνος ἔκτη μετ'  
 εἰκάδα, γνώμη βουλῆς καὶ δήμον, Καλλίας Φρεάρριος εἶπεν, 5  
 ὅτι δοκεῖ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ στεφανῶσαι Νανσικλέα τὸν  
 ἐπὶ τῶν ὅπλων, ὅτι Ἀθηναίων ὀπλιτῶν δισχυλίων ὄντων ἐν  
 Ἰμβρῷ καὶ βοηθούντων τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν Ἀθηναίων τὴν  
 νῆσον, οὐ δυναμένου Φίλωνος τοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως κεχει-  
 ροτονημένου διὰ τοὺς χειμῶνας πλεῦσαι καὶ μισθοδοτῆσαι 10  
 τοὺς ὀπλίτας, ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας οὐσίας ἔδωκε καὶ οὐκ εἰσέπραξε τὸν  
 δήμον, καὶ ἀναγορεῦσαι τὸν στέφανον Διονυσίοις τραγωδοῖς  
 καινοῖς.]

## ΕΤΕΡΟΝ ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

[Εἶπε Καλλίας Φρεάρριος, πρυτάνεων λεγόντων βουλῆς 116  
 γνώμη, ἐπειδὴ Χαρίδημος ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν, ἐπρωταίεῖς  
 εἰς Σαλαμῖνι, καὶ Διότιμος ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ἱππέων, ἐν τῇ ἐπὶ  
 τοῦ ποταμοῦ μάχῃ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τινῶν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων  
 σκυλευθέντων, ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀναλωμάτων καθώπλισαν τοὺς 5  
 νεανίσκους ἀσπίσιν ὀκτακοσίαις, δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ  
 δήμῳ στεφανῶσαι Χαρίδημον καὶ Διότιμον χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ,  
 καὶ ἀναγορεῦσαι Παναθηναίοις τοῖς μεγάλοις ἐν τῷ γυμνικῷ  
 ἀγῶνι καὶ Διονυσίοις τραγωδοῖς καινοῖς· τῆς δὲ ἀναγορεύσεως  
 266 ἐπιμεληθῆναι θεσμοθέτας, πρυτάνεις, ἀγωνοθέτας.] 10

Τούτων ἕκαστος, Αἰσχίνη, τῆς μὲν ἀρχῆς ἥς 117  
 ἦρχεν ὑπεύθυνος ἦν, ἐφ' οἷς δ' ἐστεφανοῦτο οὐχ

11. κομίσασθαι implies that the receiver has a claim on the giver: cf. ἀποδοῦναι, § 110<sup>8</sup>, and Plat. Rep. 507 A, ἐμέ τε δύνασθαι αὐτὴν ἀποδοῦναι καὶ ὑμᾶς κομίσασθαι.

§ 117. 2. ἐφ' οἷς ἐστεφανοῦτο: we do not know whether there was any distinction between these decrees and that of Ctesiphon like that mentioned in § 113<sup>4</sup>. As Demosthenes

νος. οὐκοῦν οὐδ' ἐγώ· ταῦτ' ἀρ' δίκαι' ἐστὶ  
 ῥι τῶν αὐτῶν τοῖς ἄλλοις δῆπου. ἐπέδωκα·  
 ὑμαί διὰ ταῦτα, οὐκ ὦν ὦν ἔδωχ' ὑπεύθυνος. 5  
 καὶ δέδωκά γ' εὐθύνας ἐκείνων, οὐχ ὦν ἐπέ-  
 νη Δί', ἀλλ' ἀδίκως ἤρξα· εἴτα παρὼν, ὅτε  
 ἵγον οἱ λογισταί, οὐ κατηγορεῖς;  
 α τοῖνυν ἰδὲ<sup>56</sup> ὅτι αὐτὸς οὐτός μοι μαρτυρεῖ 118  
 οὐχ ὑπεύθυνος ἦν ἐστεφανῶσθαι, λαβὼν  
 οὐθι τὸ ψήφισμ' ὅλον τὸ γραφέν μοι. οἷς γὰρ  
 ῥάψατο τοῦ προβουλεύματος, τούτοις ἂ διώκει  
 νυτῶν φανήσεται. λέγε. 5

own case absolutely  
 be question is of little

μαι: cf. ἐπήνεσεν, § 113<sup>8</sup>.  
 ἀλλ': a more emphatic  
 an objection than the  
 α, νη Δία: cf. XIX. 272,  
 ἰὼν: i.e. *being present*  
 ).

ἵγον οἱ λογισταί: see  
 Ath. 54, καὶ (κληροῦσι  
 τὰς δέκα καὶ συνηγόρους  
 ῥὸς οὓς ἅπαντας ἀνάγκη  
 εἰς ἀρξάντας λόγον ἀπενεγ-  
 ῖρ εἰσι μόνοι τοῖς ὑπευθύν-  
 οι, καὶ τὰς εὐθύνas εἰς τὸ  
 ἰσάγοντες. Before this  
 litors every magistrate  
 or for his εὐθυναί at the  
 rm of office; and they  
 s a matter of form)  
 before a Heliastic court  
 , in which anyone might  
 cuse him of any offence  
 th his office. His ac-  
 noney expended were  
 the same time. See  
 7—23. The question  
 ατηγορεῖν; (Aesch. 23)  
 asked in presence of  
 the εὐθυναί of Demos-  
 to this Aeschines did

not respond. But these εὐθυναί must  
 have come several months after  
 Ctesiphon's bill had passed the  
 Senate and had been indicted by  
 Aeschines, so that accusation at the  
 εὐθυναί was superseded. See Essay  
 III. § 1.

§ 118. 2. ἐστεφανῶσθαι (sc.  
 ἐμέ), that the proposal to crown me  
 has passed the Senate: cf. ἐπήνεσεν  
 in § 113<sup>8</sup>.

3. γραφέν μοι, *proposed in my*  
*honour*: see note on § 56<sup>4</sup>.

4. τοῦ προβουλεύματος: partitive  
 after οἷς. The meaning is, that he  
 will use the omissions from the decree  
 in the indictment to show the malice  
 of Aeschines in prosecuting the  
 clauses which he includes.

ἂ διώκει συκοφαντῶν: see XXIII.  
 61, συκοφαντοῦμεν τὸ πρᾶγμα.

The orator now calls for the reading  
 of the bill of Ctesiphon, ostensibly to  
 prove the point just made, but per-  
 haps chiefly to recall to the minds  
 of the judges Ctesiphon's enumera-  
 tion of his public services which the  
 Senate has approved. In the fol-  
 lowing spurious decree the Archon's  
 name is wrong and different from  
 that in the indictment (which is also  
 wrong).

## ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

[Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Εὐθυκλέους, πυναιψιώνος ἐνάτη ἀπίοντος, φιλικῶς πρυτανεύουσης Οἰνηίδος, Κτησιφῶν Λεωσθένους Ἀναφύλατος εἶπεν, ἐπειδὴ Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παιανιῆς γενόμενος ἐπιμελητὴς τῆς τῶν τειχῶν ἐπισκευῆς καὶ προσανα- 11  
λώςως εἰς τὰ ἔργα ἀπὸ τῆς ἰδίας οὐσίας τρία τάλαντα ἐπέδωκε ταῦτα τῷ δήμῳ, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ θεωρικοῦ κατασταθεὶς ἐπέδωκε τῷ ἐκ πασῶν τῶν φυλῶν θεωροῖς ἑκατὸν μνᾶς εἰς θυσίας, δαδύχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων ἐπαινέσαι 12  
Δημοσθένην Δημοσθένους Παιανιῆς ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ καλοκα- 13  
γαθίως ἥς ἔχων διατελεῖ ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ εἰς τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ στεφανῶσαι χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ, καὶ ἀναγορεῦσαι 14  
267 τὸν στέφανον ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ Διονυσίοις τραγωδοῖς καινοῖς τῆς δὲ ἀναγορεύσεως ἐπιμεληθῆναι τὸν ἀγωνοθέτην.]

Οὐκοῦν ἃ μὲν ἐπέδωκα ταῦτ' ἐστίν, ὧν οὐδὲν σὺ 11  
γέγραψαι· ἃ δέ φησιν ἡ βουλὴ δεῖν ἀντὶ τούτων  
γενέσθαι μοι, ταῦτ' ἔσθ' ἃ διώκεις. τὸ λαβεῖν οὖν  
τὰ διδόμενα ὁμολογῶν ἔννομον εἶναι, τὸ χάριν τού-  
των ἀποδοῦναι παρανόμων γράφει. ὁ δὲ παμπόνηρος 5  
ἄνθρωπος καὶ θεοῖς ἐχθρὸς καὶ βᾶσκανός ὄντως  
ποῖός τις ἂν εἴη πρὸς θεῶν; οὐχ ὁ τοιοῦτος;

Καὶ μὴν περὶ τοῦ γ' ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ κηρύττεσθαι, 11  
τὸ μὲν μυριάκις μυρίους κεκηρύχθαι παραλείπω καὶ

§ 119. Here the proof of the malice of Aeschines, promised in § 118, is given on the authority of the decree just read. It is argued that Aeschines admits the gifts and their legality by his silence concerning them, while he brands as illegal the proposal to return public thanks for these gifts. As if the thanks for a legal gift might not be given in an illegal manner.

5. παρανόμων γράφει: cf. note on § 13<sup>9</sup>.

§ 120. 2. μυριάκις μυρίους: tl means that 10,000 men had been crowned on 10,000 occasions (n 10,000 times 10,000 men). Tl was justified rhetorically by the great frequency of decrees conferring crowns to be proclaimed in the theatre: the number of these on record shows that any law which might have forbidden the proclamation of crowns in the theatre was a defective letter.

τὸ πολλάκις αὐτὸς ἐστεφανῶσθαι πρότερον. ἀλλὰ πρὸς θεῶν οὕτω σκῆσις εἰ καὶ ἀναίσθητος, Αἰσχίνη, ὥστ' οὐ δύνασαι λογίσασθαι, ὅτι τῷ μὲν στεφανου- 5 μένῳ τὸν αὐτὸν ἔχει ζῆλον ὁ στέφανος, ὅπου ἂν ἀναρρηθῇ, τοῦ δὲ τῶν στεφανούντων εἵνεκα συμφέροντος, ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ γίγνεται τὸ κήρυγμα; οἱ γὰρ ἀκούσαντες ἅπαντες εἰς τὸ ποιεῖν εὐ τὴν πόλιν προτρέπονται, καὶ τοὺς ἀποδιδόντας τὴν χάριν μᾶλλον 10 ἐπαινοῦσι τοῦ στεφανουμένου· διόπερ τὸν νόμον τοῦτον ἡ πόλις γέγραπεν. Λέγε δ' αὐτόν μοι τὸν νόμον λαβών.

## ΝΟΜΟΣ.

[Ὅσους στεφανοῦσί τινες τῶν δήμων, τὰς ἀναγορεύσεις 15 τῶν στεφάνων ποιῆσθαι ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐκάστους τοῖς ἰδίοις δήμοις, ἐὰν μὴ τινας ὁ δῆμος ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἢ ἡ βουλὴ στεφανοί. τούτους δ' ἐξεῖναι ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ Διονυσίοις ἀναγορεύεσθαι.]

Ἀκούεις, Αἰσχίνη, τοῦ νόμου λέγοντος σαφῶς, 121  
268 πλὴν ἐάν τινας ὁ δῆμος ἢ ἡ βουλὴ ψηφίσηται·

3. τὸ πολλάκις...πρότερον: in the note on § 83<sup>5</sup> (δευτέρου...γιγνομένου). I have given reasons for thinking that the crown voted on the motion of Aristicus in 340 B.C., and proclaimed in the theatre, had been preceded by another, also proclaimed in the theatre, of which we have no other account than the allusion in § 83. These two, with the one voted on the motion of Demomeles and Hyperides in 338 B.C. (§§ 222, 223), if the latter was actually proclaimed, justify the use of πολλάκις, especially after μυριάκις μυρίους.  
5. ὥστ' οὐ δύνασαι: see M.T. 601 and 584. The meaning is *are you so stupid that you are not able?* while with ὥστε μὴ δύνασθαι it would

be *are you stupid enough not to be able?*

6. τὸν αὐτὸν ἔχει ζῆλον, i.e. *the receiver of the crown feels the same pride*: ζῆλος is emulation, *pride in excelling*, hence *glorying* (see §§ 217<sup>8</sup>, 273<sup>5</sup>).

7. εἵνεκα: this Ionic and poetic form is often found in the best MSS. of Demosthenes.

9. εἰς τὸ ποιεῖν εὖ: this motive is strongly urged in many decrees conferring crowns.

§ 121. This short but impassioned outburst cannot be a reply to the long and confused argument of Aeschines (32—48). See Essay 1., Remarks on §§ 120, 121.



ἦκεν ἐκ τῆς συγγραφῆς κομιζόμενος, ἡ λόγῳ τοὺς δημοτικούς, ἀλλ' οὐ τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ τοῖς πολιτευ- 5  
μασι γινωσκομένους. καὶ βοᾷς ῥητὰ καὶ ἄρρητα  
ὀνομάζων, ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀμάξης, ἃ σοὶ καὶ τῷ σὺ γένει  
πρόσεστιν, οὐκ ἐμοί. καίτοι καὶ τοῦτο, ὦ ἄνδρες 123  
Ἀθηναῖοι. ἐγὼ λοιδορίαν κατηγορίας τούτῳ δια-  
φέρειν ἡγοῦμαι, τῷ τὴν μὲν κατηγορίαν ἀδικήματ'  
ἔχειν, ὧν ἐν τοῖς νόμοις εἰσὶν αἱ τιμωρίαι, τὴν δὲ  
λοιδορίαν βλασφημίας, ἃς κατὰ τὴν αὐτῶν φύσιν 5  
τοῖς ἐχθροῖς περὶ ἀλλήλων συμβαίνει λέγειν. οἰ-  
κοδομήσαι δὲ τοὺς προγόνους ταυτὶ τὰ δικαστήρια  
ὑπέιληφα οὐχ ἵνα συλλέξαντες ὑμᾶς εἰς ταῦτα, ἀπὸ  
τῶν ιδίων κακῶς τὰ πόρρητα λέγωμεν ἀλλήλους,  
ἀλλ' ἵν' ἐξελέγχωμεν ἕαν τις ἡδικῆκώς τι τυγχάνῃ 10  
τὴν πόλιν. ταῦτα τοίνυν εἰδὼς Αἰσχίνης οὐδὲν 124

as it were, but we can seldom translate it with a participle without an *if*.

6. γινωσκομένους (with ὥσπερ): accus. abs. (M.T. 853): cf. ὡς... ἔχοντα, § 276<sup>5,7</sup>.—ῥητὰ καὶ ἄρρητα, *dicenda, tacenda* (sc. ὀνόματα), with ὀνομάζων.

7. ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀμάξης: see note on πομπείας, § 11<sup>7</sup>; and Suid. under τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἀμαξῶν σκώμματα· ἐπὶ τῆς ἀμάξης ὀχοῦμεναι αἱ γυναῖκες αἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἐπὶ εἰς τὰ Ἐλευσίνια ἐβάδιζον εἰς τὰ μεγάλα μυστήρια, ἐλοιδοροῦν ἀλλήλους ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ· τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν ἔθος αὐταῖς.

§ 123. 1. καίτοι καὶ τοῦτο: cf. IV. 12.

2. λοιδορίαν κατηγορίας: see note on § 10<sup>1</sup>.

5. κατὰ τὴν αὐτῶν φύσιν, opposed to ἐν τοῖς νόμοις (4): the accident of personal nature is expressed also in συμβαίνει (6).

7. ταυτὶ τὰ δικαστήρια: most of

these were in the ἀγορά, as is implied by Lysias, XIX. 55.

8. ἀπὸ τῶν ιδίων, i.e. *out of* (our stock of) *private enmity*. For the use of ἀπὸ, cf. Thuc. I. 141, ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν δαπανῶντες.

9. κακῶς.....ἀλλήλους, *abuse one another with lawless epithets*: ἀπόρρητα were epithets which it was unlawful to apply to a citizen: cf. Lys. X. 6, ἐρεῖ ὡς οὐκ ἔστι τῶν ἀπορρητῶν ἕαν τις εἴπῃ τὸν πατέρα ἀπεκτονέειν· τὸν γὰρ νόμον οὐ ταῦτ' ἀπαγορεύειν· ἀλλ' ἀνδροφόνον οὐκ ἔαν λέγειν. This speech shows that ἀνδροφόνος, *ρίψασπις*, *πατραλοῖας*, and *μητραλοῖας* were ἀπόρρητα, but the number must have been much larger.

10. ἕαν...τυγχάνῃ, *if it shall happen that anyone has wronged*: the perfect participle is the common form for expressing past time with *τυγχάνω* etc.; ἕαν ἀδικήσας τύχῃ would mean *if he shall perchance wrong* (M.T. 144, 147<sup>1</sup>).

ἦττον ἐμοῦ, <sup>abuse</sup> πομπεύειν ἀντὶ τοῦ κατηγορεῖν εἴλετο. οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ἐνταῦθ' ἔλαττον ἔχων δίκαιός ἐστιν ἀπελθεῖν. ἤδη δ' ἐπὶ ταῦτα πορεύσομαι, τοσούτον αὐτὸν ἐρωτήσας. πότερόν σέ τις, Αἰσχίνη, τῆς πό-  
 269 οὔ μὲν ἦν παρ' ἐμοῦ δίκην κατὰ τοὺς νόμους ὑπὲρ τούτων λαβεῖν, εἴπερ ἡδίκουν, ἐξέλειπες, ἐν ταῖς εὐθύναις, ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς, ἐν ταῖς ἀλλαῖς κρίσεσιν· οὐ δ' ἐγὼ μὲν ἀθῶος ἄπασι, τοῖς νόμοις, τῷ χρόνῳ, 125 τῇ προθεσμίᾳ, τῷ κεκρίσθαι περὶ πάντων πολλάκις

§ 124. 2. ἐμοῦ: with οὐδὲν ἦττον. —πομπεύειν (cf. πομπείας, § 117): referring to ἐξ ἀμάξης, § 122<sup>1</sup>, and λοιδορίαν, § 123<sup>2</sup>.

3. ἔλαττον ἔχων ἀπελθεῖν, to get off with any less (than he has given): this fatal principle of paying off vituperation in the same base coin is the weak justification of the scurrility which follows (§§ 128—131) and elsewhere.

5. πότερον...φῆ; here φῆ τις; hardly differs from φῶμεν: the third person without τις in these questions is rare (M.T. 289).

7. οὐ κότερα, explained by ἐν...κρίσεσιν.—ὑπὲρ τούτων: the Athenians present, as representing the whole.

8. ἐξέλειπες expresses habitual neglect.

9. εὐθύναις: i.e. by bringing a suit in connection with my εἶθνεαι (see note on § 117<sup>4</sup>), like the γραφή παραπομπῆς against Aeschines (XIX.).

γραφαῖς: here ordinary public suits, not including εἰσαγγελία, εὐθύναι, etc., which come under γραφαί in its wider sense. See § 240<sup>2</sup>.

§ 125. 1. οὐ δ'...ἀθῶος. but ἀθῶος ἔγωγε ἀντίθετος, opposed to οὐ κότερα φ. § 124<sup>1</sup>. —τοῖς νόμοις...πρότερον: these four grounds of immunity (explaining ἀπασιν) do not all exclude each other, νόμοις in fact

including all the rest, and χρόνῳ being in great part identical with προθεσμία.

2. τῇ προθεσμίᾳ, the limitations of time set by law to bringing certain actions. Debts were outlawed in five years, and this limitation applied to many other cases. The mover of a law was personally liable to the γραφή παρανόμων only one year. Of course in this suit nothing could make Demosthenes personally amenable to any law, as he was only Ctesiphon's advocate; but the meaning of ἀθῶος is that no suit could now legally be brought against him personally for any of the offences with which he is charged before the court. He bitterly complains of the power given to Aeschines by the form of this suit to accuse him of crimes for which he could not indict him: see §§ 9—16.—τῷ κεκρίσθαι πολλάκις πρότερον (sc. ἐμέ): probably referring to the cases mentioned in §§ 83, 222—224, which covered important parts of the present case. He may also refer to actual indictments against himself: for the time since Chaeronea we have his statement in §§ 249, 250, e.g. κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκάστην ἐκρινόμεν. See note on § 224<sup>6</sup>. For the law forbidding new trials of cases already decided, see XXIV. 55, οὐκ ἔφ' ἐπεὶ

πρότερον, τῷ μηδεπώποτε ἐξελεγχθῆναι μηδὲν ὑμᾶς  
 ἀδικῶν, τῇ πόλει δ' ἢ πλέον ἢ ἔλαττον ἀνάγκη τῶν  
 γε δημοσίων πεπραγμένων μετεῖναι τῆς δόξης, ἐνταῦθ' ὅ  
 ἀπήντηκας; ὅρα μὴ τούτων μὲν ἐχθρὸς ᾖς, ἐμοὶ δὲ  
 προσποιῇ.

Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἡ μὲν εὐσεβὴς καὶ δικαία ψῆφος 126  
 ἅπασι δέδεικται, δεῖ δέ με, ὥς ἔοικε, καίπερ οὐ φιλο-

ὦν ἂν ἀπαξ γινῶ δικαστῆριον πάλιν  
 χρηματίζειν.

3. ὑμᾶς ἀδικῶν: ὑμᾶς shows that  
 the orator could address the audience  
 in the midst of a question addressed  
 to Aeschines personally.

5. ἐνταῦθ', there, referring back  
 emphatically to οὐ (1).

6. ἀπήντηκας: cf. ἀπηνητηκώς,

§ 15<sup>8</sup>.—ὅρα μὴ...ᾖς, see to it that  
 you do not prove to be their enemy:  
 μὴ with the subjunctive always im-  
 plies the future; but φοβοῦμαι μὴ  
 ἀληθές ἐστιν is I fear that it is true  
 (M.T. 369).

6. ἐμοί: the MSS. are divided  
 between ἐμοί (Σ) and ἐμός.

§§ 126—226. The next main  
 division of the argument is devoted  
 chiefly to the account of the means by  
 which Aeschines gained for Philip an  
 entrance into Greece with his army,  
 by getting up the Amphissian war  
 (§§ 139—159), and of the measures  
 by which Demosthenes opposed this  
 joint plot of Aeschines and Philip  
 (as he represents it), especially his  
 negotiations with Thebes in 339—338  
 B.C., which led to the alliance of  
 that city with Athens (§§ 160—226).  
 The orator introduces these accounts  
 by a general sketch of Aeschines' life  
 and that of his parents, full of  
 offensive scurrility (§§ 126—131),  
 followed by a brief account of some  
 of the lesser political offences of  
 Aeschines (§§ 132—138).

The orator's account of his own  
 political acts in the eventful year  
 before the battle of Chaeronea, con-  
 nected with his vigorous defence of  
 the policy of Athens under his guid-  
 ance in her last resistance to the

power of Philip, is the most eloquent  
 passage in the oration (§§ 160—226).  
 This is a direct continuation of the  
 story of his political life which was  
 interrupted by skilful design in § 110.

§ 126. 1. ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν κ.τ.λ. This is one of the few undoubted cases of anacoluthon in Demosthenes. The causal sentence introduced by ἐπειδὴ goes on regularly through § 126, when the sudden turn given by the question τίς οὐκ ἀν...φθέγγεσθαι; causes the orator to burst forth into the fierce invective which follows, forgetting his leading sentence, the apodosis to ἐπειδὴ...φθέγγεσθαι. This exclamatory diversion carries him to the end of § 128, where we find in a changed form (in § 129) what would be a natural apodosis to § 126. But it is hardly possible that the orator ever thought of the beginning of § 129 as a resumption of his broken sentence.—ἡ εὐσεβὴς...ψῆφος, i.e. the vote which your oath and justice both require of you.

λοίδορον ὄντα, διὰ τὰς ὑπὸ τούτου βλασφημίας εἰρη-  
 μένας ἀντὶ πολλῶν καὶ ψευδῶν αὐτὰ τὰναγκαϊότατ'  
 εἰπεῖν περὶ αὐτοῦ, καὶ δεῖξαι τίς ὢν καὶ τίνων βράδως 5  
 οὕτως ἄρχει τοῦ κακῶς λέγειν, καὶ λόγους τινὰς  
 διασύρει, αὐτὸς εἰρηκῶς ἂ τίς οὐκ ἂν ὥκνησε τῶν  
 μετρίων ἀνθρώπων φθέγασθαι;—εἰ γὰρ Αἰακὸς ἡ 127  
 Ῥαδάμανθους ἡ Μίνως ἦν ὁ κατηγορῶν, ἀλλὰ μὴ  
 σπερμολόγος, <sup>ἡ</sup>περίτριμμ' ἀγορᾶς, ὀλέθρος γραμμα-  
 τεὺς, οὐκ ἂν αὐτὸν οἶμαι ταῦτ' εἰπεῖν, οὐδ' ἂν οὕτως  
 ἐπαχθεὶς λόγους πορίσασθαι, ὥσπερ ἐν τραγωδίᾳ 5  
 βοῶντα ὦ γῆ καὶ ἥλιε καὶ ἄρετῇ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα,  
 καὶ πάλιν <sup>ἡ</sup>σύνεριν καὶ παιδείαν ἐπικαλούμενον, ἥ τὰ

4. αὐτὰ τὰναγκαϊότατα, *what is barely necessary* (to satisfy the promise in § 124<sup>3,4</sup>). Cf. ἀναγκαϊότατα § 168<sup>7</sup>. See Thuc. 1. 90 ὥστε ἀπομάχεσθαι ἐκ τοῦ ἀναγκαϊοτάτου ὕψους, i.e. to have the wall just high enough to be defensible.

5. τίνων: sc. γενόμενος.

6. λόγους τινὰς διασύρει, *ridicules certain sayings of mine*. It is hard to decide between τινὰς and τίνας. With τίνας it is *what sayings of mine he ridicules*, i.e. *how he ridicules my sayings*. The reference is to Aesch. III. 167, ταῦτα τί ἐστίν, ὦ κίναϊδος; ῥήματα ἢ θαύματα; also to 72 and 209.

7. ἂ τίς...φθέγασθαι; this interrog. rel. sentence breaks the construction. For μετρίων see n. on § 10<sup>8</sup>.

§ 127. 1. Αἰακὸς...Μίνως: the three judges of the dead in Plat. Gorg. 523 E.

2. ὁ κατηγορῶν is subject: Vömel says, "Non dicit si Aëacus accusaret, sed si accusator esset Aëacus."

3. σπερμολόγος: originally a little bird which *picked up seed* from newly sown fields (Ar. Av. 232, 579); then a man who lives by *picking up* what he can in the market and other places

of trade, a *vagabond*, and generally a worthless fellow; sometimes one who picks up and retails small scraps of gossip, a *babbler* or *prater*, as applied to St Paul in Acts xvii. 18. Either of the last two meanings, or perhaps a combination of both, suits the present passage.—περίτριμμ' ἀγορᾶς, *a hack of the market place*: see Arist. Nub. 447, περίτριμμα δικῶν, with the explanation in Bekk. Anecd. p. 59, οἶον τετριμμένον ἱκανῶς πράγμασιν.—ὀλέθρος γραμματεὺς, *a curse of a scribe*: see IX. 31, ὀλέθρου Μακεδόνος (of Philip), and XXIII. 202, ἀνθρώπους οὐδ' ἐλευθέρους, ὀλέθρους.

4. οὐκ ἂν...εἰπεῖν (repr. εἶπεν ἂν): for the common position of ἂν before words like οἶμαι, see M.T. 220<sup>1</sup>.

5. ἐπαχθεὶς, *ponderous, offensively pompous*: cf. ἐπαχθές, *offensive*, § 10<sup>6</sup>. See Ar. Ran. 940, οἰδοῦσαν ὑπὸ κομψμάτων καὶ ῥημάτων ἐπαχθῶν, of the style of Aeschylus.—πορίσασθαι, *provide one's self with, bring out*: cf. XIX. 186, XXXV. 41.—ὥσπερ ἐν τραγωδίᾳ: see note on § 13<sup>6</sup>.

6. ὦ γῆ...ἄρετῇ: thus Aesch. begins his peroration (260), adding καὶ σύνεσις καὶ παιδεία, ἥ διαγιγνώσκμεν τὰ καλὰ καὶ αἰσχροῖα.

καλὰ καὶ τὰ αἰσχρὰ διαγινώσκεται· ταῦτα γὰρ δή-  
 πουθεν ἤκουέτ' αὐτοῦ λέγοντος. <sup>1</sup> σοὶ δὲ ἀρετῆς, ὦ 128  
 κάθαρμα, ἢ τοῖς σοῖς τίς μετουσία; ἢ καλῶν ἢ μὴ  
 τοιούτων τίς διάγνωσις; πόθεν ἢ πῶς ἀξιωθέντι;  
 270 ποῦ δὲ παιδείας σοι θέμις μνησθῆναι, ἥς τῶν μὲν ὡς  
 τοιούτου οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἑτέρου λέγοντος ἐρυθριά-  
 σεις, τοῖς δ' ἀπολειφθεῖσι μὲν, ὥσπερ σὺ, προσποιου-  
 μένοις δ' ὑπ' ἀναισθησίας, τὸ τοὺς ἀκούοντας ἀλγεῖν  
 ποιεῖν ὅταν λέγωσιν, οὐ τὸ δοκεῖν, τοιούτοις εἶναι,  
 περίεστιν. <sup>10</sup>

Οὐκ ἀπόρων δ' ὃ τι χρὴ περὶ σοῦ καὶ τῶν σῶν 129  
 εἰπεῖν, ἀπορώ τοῦ πρώτου μνησθῶ· πότερ' ὡς ὁ  
 πατήρ σου Τρόμης ἐδούλευε παρ' Ἑλπίᾳ τῇ πρὸς

§ 128. 1. σοὶ ἀρετῆς...τίς μετουσία;=τί σοι ἀρετῆς μέτεστιν;

2. κάθαρμα, properly *filth*, *off-scourings*.

3. πόθεν...ἀξιωθέντι; see § 51<sup>4</sup>.

4. ἥς belongs to *τετυχηκότων*, ἀπολειφθεῖσι, and *προσποιουμένοις*: it has a partitive force with *προσποιουμένοις* (7), as in Ar. Eccl. 871, *προσποιῇ τῶν χρημάτων*.

6. καὶ...ἐρυθριάσεις: M.T. 224.

7. τοῖς ἀπολειφθεῖσι, *those who have missed it* (cf. § 257<sup>6</sup>).

8. ἀναισθησίας: see *ἀνασθητοι*, § 43<sup>2</sup>, and note on § 35<sup>19</sup>.

10. περίεστιν, *it remains for them*: cf. *περιεῖναι χρήματα*, of a balance of money due, § 227<sup>8</sup>. See II. 29, *περίεστι μὲν ἔρζειν*.

§ 129. 2. τοῦ (=τίνος) πρώτου μνησθῶ: indirect question (M.T. 677).—ὁ πατήρ...ἐδούλευε: it is a hard problem for historical criticism to evolve the real father of Aeschines from this slave of a schoolmaster, seen with his feet in the stocks or wearing a wooden collar for punishment, and the patriotic citizen

described by his son (Aesch. II. 147, III. 191), who had died about twelve years before at the age of ninety-five, who lived through the Peloponnesian war, in which he lost his property, was banished by the Thirty Tyrants, served his country bravely in Asia, was one of the restorers of the democracy under Thrasybulus, and in his old age discoursed learnedly and wisely to his son on the early history of the *γραφὴ παρανόμων*! Fortunately Demosth. speaks of him thirteen years before this, when he was still living, in XIX. 281, where he calls Aeschines *the son of Atrometus the schoolmaster*. From this respectable station he has now descended to be the son of T'romes, a schoolmaster's slave (see § 130<sup>6</sup>).

3. πρὸς τῇ Θησείῳ: in XIX. 249, Atrometus is said to have kept school *πρὸς τῇ τοῦ Ἡρώ τοῦ ἱατροῦ, near the shrine of the Hero Physician*. For this hero, the Scythian Toxaris, a friend of Anacharsis and Solon, see Essay VI. Cf. note on *καλαμῆτης* (line 6).

τῷ Θησεΐφ διδάσκοντι γράμματα, χοίνικας παχείας ἔχων καὶ ξύλον; ἢ ὡς ἡ μήτηρ, τοῖς μεθημερινοῖς 5 γάμοις ἐν τῷ κλεισίῳ τῷ πρὸς τῷ καλαμίτῃ ἥρῳ χρωμένῃ, τὸν καλὸν ἀνδριάντα καὶ τριταγωνιστὴν ἄκρον ἐξέθρεψέ σε; ἀλλ' ὡς ὁ τριηραύλης Φορμίων, ὁ Δίωνος τοῦ Φρεαρρίου δοῦλος, ἀνέστησεν αὐτὴν ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς καλῆς ἐργασίας; ἀλλὰ νῆ τὸν Δία 10 καὶ θεοὺς ὀκνῶ μὴ περὶ σοῦ τὰ προσήκοντα λέγων αὐτὸς οὐ προσήκοντας ἐμαυτῷ δόξω προηρῆσθαι λόγους. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐάσω, ἀπ' αὐτῶν δ' ὧν αὐτὸς 130 βεβίωκεν ἄρξομαι· οὐδὲ γὰρ ὧν ἔτυχεν ἦν, ἀλλ' οἷς

4. διδάσκοντι γράμματα: the γραμματιστής was a teacher of γράμματα, *reading and writing*, the earlier γραμματική.—χοίνικας παχείας, crassas compedis (Plaut. Capt. III. 5, 64), *stocks or shackles* for the feet: see Ar. Plut. 275, αἱ κνήμαι δέ σου βοῶσιν τοῦ τοῦ, τὰς χοίνικας καὶ τὰς πέδας ποθοῦσαι.

5. ξύλον, a wooden collar, worn on the neck for punishment: see Ar. Nub. 592, ἦν φιμώσῃτε τοῦτον ἢ τῷ ξύλῳ τὸν αἰχένα, and Lys. 681. It meant also *stocks* for the feet, and the πεντεσύριγγον ξύλον was an instrument with five holes, for neck, arms, and legs. See Lexicon, ξύλον.—τοῖς μεθημερινοῖς γάμοις, a euphemism for *daylight prostitution*: the stories of the mother of Aeschines are as trustworthy as those of his father (see §§ 258, 259).

6. κλεισίῳ, a *hut*, opposed to a house, as in Lys. XII. 18, τριῶν ἡμῖν οἰκῶν οὗς ὧν... κλεισίον μισθωσάμενοι. See Od. XXIV. 208.—πρὸς τῷ καλαμίτῃ ἥρῳ, *near the shrine* (or statue) of the hero καλαμῖτης. Many identify this hero with the ἥρως ἱερός of XIX. 249, notwithstanding strong objections. See Essay VI.

7. τὸν καλὸν ἀνδριάντα, the pretty doll: see Bekk. Anecd. 394,

29, ὡς ἐν τῇ συνηθείᾳ λέγουσιν ἡ μητέρα περὶ τῶν υἱῶν, "ὁ καλὸς ἀνδριάς μου."—τριταγωνιστὴν ἄκρο, a *tip-top third-part-actor*: see §§ 26 265, and XIX. 246, 247, 337.

8. ἀλλ' ὡς: supply *μνησθῶ* from line 2, as a *direct* interrogative.—τριηραύλης, *galley-piper*, who gave the stroke to the rowers on a trireme.

9. ἀνέστησεν: "memineris prestare in lupanari Graece dici καθῆσθαι" (Dissen); there is also the idea of *raising* her from a low occupation. Cf. Aesch. I. 41.

§ 130. 1. ὧν αὐτὸς βεβίωκεν, *the life he has himself led*, = τῶν αὐτῷ βεβιωμένων: cf. § 265<sup>1</sup>, XXII. 23 (τὰ τοῦτῳ βεβιωμένα), and XIX. 199, 200.

2. οὐδὲ ὧν ἔτυχεν ἦν, *he was not even of ordinary parents*, i.e. not of any of whom he merely *chanced* to be. ὧν ἔτυχεν is nearly equivalent to the common τῶν τυχόντων, *ordinary people* (οἱ ἔτυχον), such as might chance to fall in one's way: cf. Isocr. X. 21, εἰ εἰς ἦν τῶν τυχόντων ἀλλὰ μὴ τῶν πολλῶ διεσεγκόντων. After such a statement we should naturally expect to hear that he was of *higher than ordinary* parentage; but here (παρὰ προσδοκίαν) we have ἀλλ' οἷς ὁ δῆμος καταρᾶται added. In the religious ceremony before each meeting of the

ὁ δῆμος καταράται· ὃψέ γάρ ποτε—, ὃψέ λέγω;  
 χθές μὲν οὖν καὶ πρώην ἅμ' Ἀθηναῖος καὶ ῥήτωρ  
 γέγονεν· καὶ δύο συλλαβὰς προσθεῖς τὸν μὲν πατέρα 5  
 ἀντὶ Τρόμητος ἐποίησεν Ἀτρόμητον, τὴν δὲ μητέρα  
 σεμνῶς πάνυ Γλαυκοθέαν, ἣν Ἔμπουσαν ἅπαντες  
 ἴσασι καλουμένην, ἐκ τοῦ πάντα ποιεῖν καὶ πάσχειν  
 καὶ γίνεσθαι δηλονότι ταύτης τῆς ἐπωνυμίας τυ-  
 χούσαν· πόθεν γὰρ ἄλλοθεν; ἀλλ' ὁμῶς οὕτως 131  
 ἀχάριστος εἰ καὶ πονηρὸς φύσει ὥστ' ἐλεύθερος ἐκ  
 271 δούλου καὶ πλούσιος ἐκ πτωχοῦ διὰ τουτουσὶ γε-  
 γονῶς, οὐχ ὅπως χάριν αὐτοῖς ἔχεις, ἀλλὰ μισθώσας  
 σαυτὸν κατὰ τουτωνὶ πολιτεύει. καὶ περὶ ὧν μὲν 5  
 ἔστι τις ἀμφισβήτησις ὡς ἄρα ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως

enate and the Assembly, a curse (ἀρά) was invoked against certain classes of offensive people: see XXIII. 97, καταράται καθ' ἐκάστην ἐκκλησίαν ὁκλήρῃ... εἰ τις ἐξαπατᾷ λέγων ἡβουλήν ἢ δῆμον ἢ τὴν ἡλιαίαν, with XIX. 70. Aeschines himself is elsewhere included among these "deceivers": see § 282<sup>6-8</sup>, καίτοι τις... καταράται δικαίως;

5. δύο συλλαβὰς προσθεῖς: on the contrary, Demosth. probably made Τρόμης (trembler) by cutting off two syllables from Ἀτρόμητος (dauntless).

7. Ἔμπουσαν, hobgoblin.

9. καὶ γίνεσθαι: almost all editors omit these words, which have the best MS. authority and are especially appropriate to the description of Empusa. See Ar. Ran. 289—293: Χαν. δεινόν· παντοδαπὸν γούν γίγνεται· ποτέ μὲν γε βούς, νυνὶ δ' ὄρεϋς, ποτέ δ' ἀδ' γυνὴ ὠραιότατή τις. Dion. Ἐμπουσα τοίνυν ἐστί.

§ 131. 3. τουτουσὶ: i.e. the Athenians, as represented by the court.

4. οὐχ ὅπως... ἀλλὰ: οὐχ ὅπως

and οὐχ ὅτι came originally from οὐ λέξω ὅπως (or ὅτι), I will not speak of, I will not say that, etc., while the nearly equivalent μὴ ὅπως (rare) or μὴ ὅτι came from μὴ λέγε ὅπως (or ὅτι), do not mention that, etc. Usually not to speak of is a good English equivalent; but what is not to be spoken of may be either affirmed or denied. Thus here οὐχ ὅπως χάριν ἔχεις, not to mention your being grateful, means not only are you not grateful; but in Dem. xxiv. 7, οὐχ ὅτι τῶν ὄντων ἂν ἀπεστερήμην means not only should I have lost my property (not to speak of losing my property). These examples show that this construction is not related to that of non modo for non modo non. (See M.T. 707, 708.)

6. ἔστι τις ἀμφισβήτησις ὡς εἶρηκεν, i.e. it can be contended that he has spoken, etc. ἀμφισβήτησις, like ἀμρισβητῶ and Latin *disputo*, refers to maintaining in a dispute. See Plato Rep. 476 D, ἐὰν ἀμφισβητῇ ὡς οὐκ ἀληθὴ λέγομεν, and Ter. Andr. Prol. 15, in eo disputant contaminari non decere fabulas.

εἴρηκεν, εἴσω· ἃ δ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν φατερώς  
ἡπεδείχθη πράττων, ταῦτ' ἀναμνήσω.

Ἰς γὰρ ὑμῶν οὐκ οἶδεν τὸν ἀποψηφισθέντ' 132  
'Αντιφῶντα, δς ἐπαγγειλάμενος Φιλίππῳ τὰ νεώρ'  
ἐμπρήσειν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἦλθεν; ὃν λαβόντος ἐμοῦ  
κικρῦμμένον ἐν Πειραιεὶ καὶ καταστήσαντος εἰς τὴν  
ἐκκλησίαν, βοῶν ὁ βάσκανος οὗτος καὶ κέκραγώς ὥς 5  
ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ δεινὰ ποιῶ τοὺς ἡτυχηκότας τῶν πο-  
λιτῶν ὑβρίζων καὶ ἐπ' οἰκίας βαδίζων ἄνευ ψηφί-

7. εἴσω: "Hier ist die *πομπή* aus, und der Redner wird ernst." (Blauw.)

§§ 132—138. Here the orator alludes briefly to some lesser offences of Aeschines, which preceded the outbreak of the war with Philip. In § 139 there are called slight matters compared with his conduct after the war began.

§ 132. 1. οἶδεν, *knows of*.—ἀποψηφισθέντ', *rejected from the list of citizens*. In 346–5 B.C. a general revision of the lists of citizens was ordered at Athens; and the members of each deme went through its own list (the *γραμματεῖον* *ληξιαρχικόν*), voting on each name which was questioned. This process was called *διαψήφισις* (*διαψηφίζομαι*), and the rejection of any person was called *ἀποψήφισις* (*ἀποψηφίζομαι*). Demosthenes wrote his oration against Eubulides (LVII.) for a client who had been thus rejected and had appealed (as every such person might) to a Heliastic court. Antiphon was probably rejected at the same *διαψήφισις* (see Dem. LVII. 2, *πολλῶν ἐξεληλαμένων δικαίως ἐκ πάντων τῶν δῆμων*), and afterwards offered his services to Philip.

4. καταστήσαντος εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν: it is hardly probable that

Demosthenes brought Antiphon before the Assembly without some official authority. At the time of the passage of his trierarchic law (340 B.C.) he held the office of *ἐπιστάτης τοῦ ναυτικοῦ* (Aesch. III. 222). Antiphon was probably arrested by *μήνυσις*, *denunciation* to the people, the process by which those charged with mutilating the Hermae in 415 B.C. were dealt with. Except in the rare cases in which the Assembly itself undertook the trial (as in the *μήνυσις* against Phidias, Plut. Pericl. 31), the people either sent the accused to a Heliastic court for trial or discharged him. The appeals of men like Aeschines moved the Assembly to discharge Antiphon: but the Areopagus interposed, and ordered (through the Assembly) that Antiphon be tried before a court, which condemned him to the rack and to death. See Hist. § 43.

6. ἡτυχηκότας: referring to Antiphon's "bad luck" (as Aesch. called it) in losing his citizenship.

7. ἄνευ ψηφίσματος, i.e. *without a vote* of the Assembly or Senate. An Athenian citizen, like an Englishman, looked upon his house as his castle. But in extraordinary cases officers of the state with proper authority could search private houses and arrest persons concealed therein.

σματος, ἀφεθῆναι ἐποίησεν. καὶ εἰ μὴ ἡ βουλὴ ἡ ἐξ 133  
 Ἀρείου πάγου, τὸ πρᾶγμα αἰσθομένη καὶ τὴν ὑμετέ-  
 ραν ἄγνοιαν ἐν οὐ δέοντι συμβεβηκυῖαν ἰδοῦσα, ἐπε-  
 ζήτησε τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ συλλαβοῦσα ἐπανάγαγεν  
 ὡς ὑμᾶς, ἐξήρπαστ' ἂν ὁ τοιοῦτος καὶ τὸ δίκην δοῦναι 5  
 διαδύς· ἐξεπέπεμπτ' ἂν ὑπὸ τοῦ σεμνολόγου τουτουί.  
 νῦν δ' ὑμεῖς στρεβλώσαντες αὐτὸν ἀπεκτείνετε, ὡς  
 ἔδει γε καὶ τοῦτον. τοιγαροῦν εἰδὺνία ταῦθ' ἡ βουλὴ 134  
 ἡ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου τότε τούτῳ πεπραγμένα, χειροτο-  
 νησάντων αὐτὸν ὑμῶν σύνδικον ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ

8. ἀφεθῆναι: Antiphon was at  
 st discharged by the Assembly with-  
 it a trial.

§ 133. 3. ἐν οὐ δέοντι (neut.),  
 isseasonably, just when it should not:  
 ἀνηλώκαμεν εἰς οὐδὲν δέον, III. 28.  
 συμβεβηκυῖαν ἰδοῦσα, seeing that it  
 d occurred (or. obl. M.T. 904).—  
 ἐζήτησε, i.e. ordered a new (ἐπ-)  
 vestigation of the man's case. The  
 reopagus in these later times seems  
 casionally to have revived a part  
 its ancient power of directing the  
 neral welfare of the state.

4. συλλαβοῦσα shows that the  
 reopagus itself ordered Antiphon's  
 rest: Plutarch (Dem. 14) says that  
 emosth. arrested him and brought  
 m before the Areopagus.

5. ὡς ὑμᾶς, i.e. before the court,  
 hich passed the sentence of death  
 1). But ἐπανάγαγεν implies that the  
 reopagus brought him back to some  
 ace, and this must be the Assembly,  
 hich had sent him to the court. See  
 e Scholia: κυρίως εἶπε τὸ ἐπανά-  
 αγεν, εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν τόπον αἰθῆς κατέ-  
 ησεν αὐτὸν ἡ βουλὴ ἐξ οὗ σέσωσται  
 ὀτερον.—δίκην δοῦναι διαδύς: all  
 tice the intentional alliteration.

6. ἐξεπέπεμπτ': this slight change  
 om ἐξεπέμεπετ' gives a form sym-  
 etrical with ἐξήρπαστ': ἂν would

generally be omitted here (M.T.  
 226).—σεμνολόγου: see note on  
 § 35<sup>8</sup>.

7. νῦν, as it was.—στρεβλώσαντες:  
 torture (βάσανος) could not legally be  
 inflicted on an Athenian citizen; but  
 Antiphon was now disfranchised. In  
 Ar. Ran. 628, Dionysus, disguised as  
 a slave, claims exemption from exami-  
 nation under torture as an immortal  
 God: ἀγορεύω τιμὴ ἐμὴ μὴ βασανίζειν  
 ἀθάνατον ἐντ'.—ὡς ἔδει γε καὶ τοῦτον  
 (sc. ἀποκτείνειν) as you ought to have  
 dealt with this man (Aesch.).

§ 134. 3. σύνδικον... Δῆλφ: about  
 343 B.C. the Delians contested the  
 ancient right of Athens to administer  
 the temple of Apollo on their island.  
 The case came before the Amphi-  
 tyonic Council, probably in the spring  
 of 343, when Demosth. was one of  
 the Athenian delegates to Delphi  
 (XIX. 65). The Assembly chose Aes-  
 chines as their counsel; but the  
 Areopagus, to which the people had  
 given authority to revise the election,  
 rejected him and sent Hyperides in  
 his place. This showed that the  
 tide had turned against Macedon.  
 Hyperides then delivered his eloquent  
 λόγος Δηλιακός at Delphi, and gained  
 the case for Athens. See Hist.  
 § 43.

ἐν Δήλῳ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς ἀγνοίας ἥσπερ πολλὰ προῖ-  
 εσθε τῶν κοινῶν, ὥς προείλεσθε κάκεινῃν καὶ τοῦ 5  
 πράγματος κυρίαν ἐποιήσατε, τοῦτον μὲν εὐθὺς ἀπή-  
 λασεν ὡς προδότην, Ὑπερείδῃ δὲ λέγειν προσέταξε·  
 καὶ ταῦτ' ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ φέρουσα τὴν ψῆφον ἔπραξε,  
 272 καὶ οὐδεμία ψῆφος ἠνέχθη τῷ μισθῷ τούτῳ. καὶ ὅτι 1  
 ταῦτ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, κάλει τούτων τοὺς μάρτυρας.

### MARTYRES.

[Μαρτυροῦσι Δημοσθένει ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων οἶδε, Καλλίας  
 Σουινεύς, Ζήνων Φλυεύς, Κλέων Φαληρεὺς, Δημόνικος Μαρα-  
 θώνιος, ὅτι τοῦ δήμου ποτὲ χειροτονήσαντος Αἰσχίνην σύνδι-  
 κον ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ ἐν Δήλῳ εἰς τοὺς Ἀμφικτύονας συνε-  
 δρεύσαντες ἡμεῖς ἐκρίναμεν Ὑπερείδην ἄξιον εἶναι μᾶλλον  
 ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως λέγειν, καὶ ἀπεστάλη Ὑπερείδης.]

Οὐκοῦν ὅτε τούτου μέλλοντος λέγειν ἀπήλασεν 1  
 ἢ βουλή καὶ προσέταξεν ἐτέρῳ, τότε καὶ προδότην  
 εἶναι καὶ κακόνουν ὑμῖν ἀπέφηνεν.

Ἐν μὲν τοίνυν τούτῳ τοιοῦτό πολίτευμα τοῦ 1  
 νεανίου τούτου, ὁμοίον γε—οὐ γάρ;—οἷς ἐμοῦ κατη-

4. ἀπὸ... ἥσπερ (see G. 1025): cf.  
 XXI. 155, ὅτε κατὰ ταύτην τὴν ἡλικίαν  
 ἦν ἦν (for καθ' ἦν) ἐγὼ νῦν.

5. ὡς προείλεσθε κάκεινῃν, i.e.  
 when you had previously associated it  
 (the Areopagus) with yourselves in  
 the case, i.e. giving it the right to  
 revise your choice (lit. when you had  
 previously chosen it also, and given it  
 power, etc.). καὶ ἐν κάκεινῃν, which  
 seems awkward, must refer to the  
 association of the two bodies in  
 power: in H. Wolf's emendation,  
 προσειλεσθε, προσ- would have the  
 same force as καί.

7. λέγειν προσέταξε: i.e. as the  
 σύνδικος of Athens.

8. ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ: the most  
 solemn form of voting, here on a

religious question. See XLIII.  
 λαβόντες τὴν ψῆφον καιομένων τ  
 ἱερῶν, ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ φέροντες τ  
 Διὸς τοῦ φρατρίου. Cf. Hdt. VIII. 12  
 Plut. Them. 17; Cic. pro Balbo v.

9. ἠνέχθη: like φέρουσα (above)  
 —τούτῳ: cf. ἐμοὶ τὴν ψῆφον ἔνεγκι  
 Isae. xi. 18.

§ 135. 10. τούτου μέλλοντι  
 λέγειν, when he was to be the speak  
 i.e. after his election.

12. ἀπέφηνεν, declared him to  
 so by its ἀπόφασις.

§ 136. 2. νεανίου: this sort  
 times (as here) expresses wantonness  
 or insolence, like νεανικός. See E  
 Alc. 679, ἄγαν ὑβρίζεις, καὶ νεαν  
 λόγους ῥίπτων ἐς ἡμᾶς, κ.τ.λ.—οὐ γάρ  
 this sarcastic question (after γάρ

γορεί· ἕτερον δὲ ἀναμνησέσθε. ὅτε γὰρ Πύθωνα Φίλιππος ἐπεμψε τὸν Βυζάντιον καὶ παρὰ τῶν αὐτοῦ 5  
 συμμάχων πάντων συνέπεμψε πρέσβεις, ὡς ἐν αἰ-  
 σχύῃ ποιήσων τὴν πόλιν καὶ δείξων ἀδικούσαν, τότε  
 ἐγὼ μὲν τῷ Πύθωνι θρασυνομένῳ καὶ πολλῶ ῥέοντι  
 καθ' ὑμῶν οὐχ ὑπεχώρησα, ἀλλ' ἀναστὰς ἀντίειπον  
 καὶ τὰ τῆς πόλεως δίκαι' οὐχὶ προῦδωκα, ἀλλ' ἀδι-  
 κοῦντα Φίλιππον ἐξήλεγξα φανερώς οὕτως ὥς τε 10  
 τοὺς ἐκείνου συμμάχους αὐτοὺς ἀνισταμένους ὁμολο-  
 γεῖν· οὗτος δὲ συνηγωνίζετο καὶ τὰναντία ἐμαρτύρει  
 τῇ πατρίδι, καὶ ταῦτα ψευδῆ.

Καὶ οὐκ ἀπέχρη ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ πάλιν μετὰ ταῦθ' 137  
 ὕστερον Ἀναξίνῳ τῷ κατασκόπῳ συνιῶν εἰς τὴν  
 Θράσωνος οἰκίαν ἐλήφθη. καίτοι ὅστις τῷ ὑπὸ τῶν  
 273 πολεμίων πεμφθέντι μόνος μόνῳ συνήει καὶ ἐκοινο-  
 λογεῖτο, οὗτος αὐτὸς ὑπῆρχε τῇ φύσει κατάσκοπος 5  
 καὶ πολέμιος τῇ πατρίδι. καὶ ὅτι ταῦτ' ἀληθῆ  
 λέγω, καλεῖ μοι τούτων τοὺς μάρτυρας.

## MARTYRES.

[Τελέδημος Κλέωνος, Ὑπερίδης Κυλλαιόχρον, Νικόμα-  
 χος Διοφάντου μαρτυροῦσι Δημοσθένει καὶ ἐπωμόσαντο ἐπὶ 10

plies a self-evident absurdity, which is heightened by calling this affair with Antiphon a *πολιτεύμα* of Aesch. and so comparing it with the *πολιτεύματα* of Demosth. (see next note).—  
 οἷς ἐμοὶ κατηγορεῖ: probably=τοῖς ἐμοὶ πολιτεύμασιν οἷς κατηγορεῖ.

3. Πύθωνα: this eloquent orator was sent to Athens by Philip in 343 B.C., to quiet apprehension and to repeat assurances of the king's friendly spirit. See Hist. §§ 44, 45.

7. θρασυνομένῳ, with his insolent manner.—πολλῶ ῥέοντι καθ' ὑμῶν, rushing upon you with a flood (of eloquence). See Thuc. II. 5, ὁ Ἀσωπὸς

ποταμὸς ἐρρῶν μέγας, and Ar. Eq. 526 (of Cratinus), ὅς πολλῶ ῥέουσας ποτ' ἐπαίνῳ διὰ τῶν ἀφελῶν πεδίων ἔρρει. All quote Hor. Sat. I. 7, 28, salso multoq̄ue fluenti, with the preceding r̄uebat flumen ut hibernum. See § 199<sup>1</sup>, πολλὸς ἔγκιται.

8. οὐχ ὑπεχώρησα, did not retreat (before the flood).

11. συμμάχους: i.e. the παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων πρέσβεις of l. 5.

§ 137. 2. Ἀναξίνῳ: see Aeschines (III. 223, 224).

5. αὐτὸς ὑπῆρχε...κατάσκοπος, he was to be assumed to have the nature of a spy himself. See § 95<sup>6</sup>.

τῶν στρατηγῶν εἶδέναι Αἰσχίνην Ἀτρομήτου Κοθωκίδην συνερχόμενον νυκτὸς εἰς τὴν Θράσωνος οἰκίαν καὶ κοινολογούμενον Ἀναξίνῳ, ὃς ἐκρίθη εἶναι κατάσκοπος παρὰ Φιλίππου. αὗται ἀπεδόθησαν αἱ μαρτυρίαι ἐπὶ Νικίου, ἑκατομβαιῶνος τρίτῃ ἱσταμένον.]

15

Μυρία τοῖνυν ἕτερ' εἰπεῖν ἔχων περὶ αὐτοῦ παρα- 138  
λείπω. καὶ γὰρ οὕτω πως ἔχει. πόλλ' ἂν ἐγὼ ἔτι  
τούτων ἔχοιμι δεῖξαι, ὧν οὗτος κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς  
χρόνους τοῖς μὲν ἐχθροῖς ὑπηρετῶν ἐμοὶ δ' ἐπηρεάζων  
εὐρέθη. ἀλλ' οὐ τίθεται ταῦτα παρ' ὑμῖν εἰς ἀκριβὴ 5  
μνήμην οὐδ' ἦν προσήκεν ὀργήν, ἀλλὰ δεδώκατ' ἔθει  
τινὶ φαύλῳ πολλὴν ἐξουσίαν τῷ βουλομένῳ τὸν λέ-  
γοντά τι τῶν ὑμῖν συμφερόντων ὑποσκελίζει καὶ  
συκοφαντεῖν, τῆς ἐπὶ ταῖς λοιδορίαις ἡδονῆς καὶ  
χάριτος τὸ τῆς πόλεως σμυφέρων ἀντάλλαττόμενοι. 10  
διόπερ ῥᾶον ἐστὶ καὶ ἀσφαλέστερον αἰεὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς  
ὑπηρετοῦντα μισθαρνεῖν ἢ τὴν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐλόμενον  
τάξιν πολιτεύεσθαι.

Καὶ τὸ μὲν δὴ πρὸ τοῦ πολεμεῖν φανερώς συνα- 139

§ 138. 2. οὕτω πως, somewhat as follows, where earlier writers use ὡς.

3. ὧν: assimilated to τούτων from α, cognate object of ὑπηρετῶν and ἐπηρεάζων: for the latter see ἐπηρεῖαν, § 12<sup>4</sup>.

6. ἦν προσήκεν ὀργήν (with εἰς): τίθεται εἰς ὀργήν naturally follows the familiar τίθεται εἰς μνήμην.

8. ὑποσκελίζει, trip up (cf. σέλη).

9. τῆς...ἡδονῆς καὶ χάριτος: abusive language (λοιδορία) not only pleased the populace, but also gratified their whims and low tastes. A good example of both ἡδονή and χάρις is the scene in the Assembly when the second embassy reported in July 346 B.C., described in XIX. 44—46. Demosthenes was insulted and jeered at by Aeschines and Philocrates, to

the delight of the people: notice the single sarcastic remark of Demosthenes (46), καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐγελᾶτε. Hist. §§ 34, 35.

12. τὴν...πολιτεύεσθαι is to serve the state as a patriot, opposed to τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ὑπηρετοῦντα μισθαρνεῖν.

§§ 139—159. Next follows the account of the conduct of Aeschines in stirring up the Amphissian war in 339 B.C. (See note on §§ 126—226.) §§ 139—144 are introductory, and §§ 158, 159 are a peroration.

§ 139. The first sentence depreciates the acts already mentioned, done in time of nominal peace, to heighten the enormity of helping Philip in time of war: cf. δότε...αὐτῷ τοῦτο (3).

1. πρὸ τοῦ πολεμεῖν φανερώς:

γωνίζεσθαι Φιλίππῳ δεινὸν μὲν, ὡ γῇ καὶ θεοί,—πῶς  
 4 γὰρ οὐ;—κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος· δότε δ', εἰ βούλεσθε,  
 δότε αὐτῷ τοῦτο. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ φανερώς ἤδη τὰ πλοῖα  
 ἐσεσθλήτο, Χερρόνησος ἐπορθεῖτο, ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν 5  
 ἐπορεύεθ' ἄνθρωπος, οὐκέτ' ἐν ἄμφισβητησίμῳ τὰ  
 πράγματ' ἦν, ἀλλ' ἐνειστήκει πόλεμος, ὃ τι μὲν  
 πῶποτ' ἔπραξεν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ὁ βασκανὸς οὗτος ἰαμ-  
 βειογράφος οὐκ ἂν ἔχοι δείξαι, οὐδ' ἔστιν οὔτε μείζον  
 οὗτ' ἔλαττον ψήφισμ' οὐδὲν Αἰσχίνῃ ὑπὲρ τῶν 10  
 συμφερόντων τῇ πόλει· εἰ δέ φησι, νῦν δεξάτω ἐν

emosth. often implies that the pre-  
 ding peace was really a state of  
 ar. See IX. 19, ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας  
 εἴλε Φωκέας, ἀπὸ ταύτης ἔγωγ'  
 τὸν πολεμεῖν ὀρίζομαι. φανερώς  
 repeated in l. 4.

3. κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος: not con-  
 cted in construction with δεινόν, but  
 independent exclamation, justifying  
 the assertion in δεινὸν μὲν.

4. ἐπειδὴ...ἐπορθεῖτο, after your  
 ips had been openly seized (§ 73)  
 id the ravaging of the Chersonese  
 as going on. The ravaging of the  
 nersonese was marching an army  
 rough the Athenian territory there  
 enable his fleet to pass the Helles-  
 pont for the siege of Perinthus  
 ithout molestation from the shore.  
 ist. 53.

5. ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐπορεύεθ':  
 ilip's action at the Hellespont, if  
 had not been checked, would have  
 ened the way for him into Attica  
 id the whole of Greece. Demosth.  
 id repeatedly warned the people of  
 is peril: even in the First Philippic  
 151 B.C.) he had said (50), κἀν μὴ νῦν  
ἔλωμεν ἐκεῖ πολεμεῖν αὐτῷ, ἐνθάδ'  
ὡς ἀναγκασθῆσόμεθα τοῦτο ποιεῖν.  
 e especially VI. 35 (344 B.C.),  
 ὕλας...ὧν καταστὰς ἐκείνος κύριος  
 ἢς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν ὁδοῦ καὶ τῆς εἰς  
 ελοπόννησον κύριος γέγονε, and fur-

ther τοῦ πρὸς τὴν Ἀττικὴν πολέμου,  
 δς λυπήσει μὲν ἕκαστον ἐπειδὰν παρῇ,  
 γέγονε δ' ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ. See  
 § 143<sup>7</sup>.

7. ἐνειστήκει πόλεμος: cf. ὁ ἐστάς  
 πόλεμος, § 89<sup>4</sup>. These words end the  
 clause with ἐπειδὴ.

8. ἰαμβειογράφος, writer of iam-  
 poons (ἰαμβεῖα), probably refers to  
 verses written by Aeschines in his  
 youth, to which he perhaps alludes in  
 I. 136, περὶ δὲ τῶν ποιημάτων ὧν  
φασιν οὗτοί με πεποικέναι. This  
 reading has the best MS. authority;  
 but ἰαμβειοφάγος, eater (or murther)  
 of iambics, was and is the common  
 reading. If we read ἰαμβειοφάγος,  
 we must refer it to the career of  
 Aeschines as an actor, not to his  
 λοιδόρια, to which the ancient inter-  
 preters generally referred it. See  
 Etym. Magn. Ἰαμβοφάγος.

10. Αἰσχίνῃ, dat. of possession:  
 has none to show.

11. ἐν τῷ ἑμῷ ὕδατι, in my time:  
 this general formula and ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐμοῦ  
ὑδατος are often used when a speaker  
 offers part of his own time to his  
 opponent to prove something which  
 he believes cannot be proved. It is a  
 mere challenge, made with no idea of  
 its being accepted. For the genitive  
 with ἐπὶ see LVII. 61 (end). The  
 time allotted to each speaker in most

τῷ ἐμῷ ὕδατι. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδέν. καίτοι δυοῖν αὐτὸν ἀνάγκη θάτερον, ἢ μηδὲν τοῖς πραττομένοις ἐπ' ἐμοῦ τὸτ' ἔχοντ' ἐγκαλεῖν μὴ γράφειν παρὰ ταύθ' ἕτερα, ἢ τὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν συμφέρον ζητοῦντα μὴ φέρειν εἰς μέσον τὰ τούτων ἀμείνω.

Ἄρ' οὖν οὐδ' ἔλεγεν, ὥσπερ οὐδ' ἔγραφεν, ἡνίκ' ἐργάσασθαι τι δέοι κακόν; οὐ μὲν οὖν εἰπεῖν ἦν ἑτέρῳ. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καὶ φέρειν ἡδύναθ', ὡς εἰκεν, ἢ πόλις καὶ ποιῶν οὗτος λανθάνειν. ἐν δ' ἐπεξεργάσατο, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοιοῦτον δ' πᾶσι τοῖς προτέροις ἐπέθηκε τέλος· περὶ οὗ τοὺς πολ-

cases was measured by the clepsydra or water-clock (Dict. Antiq. under Horologium), a fixed number of ἀμφορίαι of water being poured in according to the importance of the case. Thus Aeschines (II. 126) says, πρὸς τοῖς δέκα γὰρ ἀμφορέας ἐν διαμετρημένῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ κρῖνομαι, eleven ἀμφορίαι (about 100 gallons), allowed each speaker in cases of παραπρεσβεία, being the largest amount mentioned. The term διαμετρημένη ἡμέρα is explained in Aesch. III. 197. In important public suits the day was divided into three parts, and the clepsydra was filled three times, the first measure of water being given to the accuser, the second (of equal amount) to the accused, and the third (in ἀγῶνες τιμητοί, if the accused was convicted), a smaller measure, to the ῥήτορες, the decision δ' τι χρὴ παθεῖν ἢ ἀποτίσαι.

12. δυοῖν...θάτερον: there is no infinitive or other verb to be supplied, and οὐδὲν is subject of γράφειν and φέρειν. δυοῖν θάτερον (or θάτερα), ἀσφότερον or ἀσφότερα, οὐδέτερον, and similar expressions, may stand emphatically, as adverbial phrases, before ἢ, ἢ, καὶ...καὶ, re...τε, and in other cases where we simply say

either...or, both...and, etc. See Plat. Theaet. 187 B, εἰν οὗτω δρῶμεν, δυο θάτερα, ἢ εὐρήσομεν ἐφ' ὃ ἐρχόμεθα ἢ ἥττον οἰησόμεθα εἰδέναι δ' μὴ δαίσομεν. So II. III. 179, ἀσφότερον, βισιλεύς τ' ἀγαθὸς κρατερὸς τ' αἰχμητὴς.

13—15. μηδὲν...ἔχοντ' and ζῆταῦντα are causal.—παρὰ ταύθ', in opposition to these.

§ 140. 1. ἄρ' οὖν...ἔγραφεν οὐδ'...οὐδ' correspond to καὶ...καὶ in positive expressions of this kind. We cannot express such negatives: the meaning is, *as he proposed no measure so did he also abstain from talking* (neither did he talk)? The sins of omission just described set these of commission in a stronger light.

2. οὐ μὲν...ἑτέρῳ, *certainly, nobody else could get a chance to talk!*

5. ἐπεξεργάσατο: the idea of addition, which ἐπὶ (like πρὸς) expresses, is further extended by ἐπέθηκε τέλος, *capped the climax*.

6. τοὺς πολλοὺς λόγους, *his many words*, referring to the long and brilliant passage (III. 107—129) in which Aeschines describes his doing at Delphi when he stirred up the fatal Amphissian war. Cf. Aesch. Ag. 1456, μία τὰς πολλὰς, τὰς πάσας πολλὰς ψυχὰς ὀλέσας.

λοὺς ἀνήλωσε λόγους, τὰ τῶν Ἀμφισσέων [τῶν  
 Λοκρῶν] διεξιὼν δόγματα, ὥς διαστρέψων τὰληθές.  
 τὸ δ' οὐ τοιοῦτόν ἐστι. πόθεν; οὐδέποτ' ἐκνίψει σὺ  
 τὰκεῖ πεπραγμένα σαντῶ· οὐχ οὕτω πόλλ' ἐρεῖς. 10

Καλῶ δ' ἐναντίον ὑμῶν, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοὺς 141  
 θεοὺς ἅπαντας καὶ πάσας ὅσοι τὴν χώραν ἔχουσι  
 τὴν Ἀττικὴν, καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλω τὸν Πύθειον, ὃς  
 πατρῷός ἐστι τῇ πόλει, καὶ ἐπεύχομαι πᾶσι τούτοις,  
 εἰ μὲν ἀληθῆ πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἵπομαι καὶ εἶπον καὶ τότε 5  
 15 εὐθὺς ἐν τῷ δήμῳ, ὅτε πρῶτον εἶδον τούτον τὸν  
 μίαιρον τούτου τοῦ πράγματος ἀπτόμενον (ἔγνω  
 γὰρ, εὐθέως ἔγνω), εὐτυχίαν μοι δοῦναι καὶ σωτη-  
 ρίαν, εἰ δὲ πρὸς ἔχθραν, ἢ φιλονεικίας ἰδίας ἕνεκ'  
 αἰτίαν ἐπάγω τούτῳ ψευδῇ, πάντων τῶν ἀγαθῶν 10  
 ἀνόνητόν με ποιῆσαι.

7. τὰ τῶν Ἀμφισσέων δόγματα, *e decrees (of the Amphictyons) of the Amphissians, like τὸ Μεγαρίων ψήφισμα, the Megarian decree*, huc. I. 140, called in I. 139 τὸ ἐπὶ Μεγαρέων ψήφισμα. So τούτων ἡφισμα, xx. 115. Two MSS. omit ὦν Λοκρῶν.

9. τὸ δ', *but in fact*: this τὸ δέ, ith no correlative τὸ μὲν, is common. Plato, introducing an adversative attemt. See Apol. 23 A, *ὁλονται... εἶναι σοφόν· τὸ δὲ κινδυνεύει*. So ep. 340 D (end), 357 A.—οὐ τοιοῦτόν ἐστι, i.e. *this cannot be done (the case is not of such a nature)*, referring to ὥς διαστρέψων τὰληθές.—ὅθεν; cf. § 47<sup>6</sup>.—ἐκνίψει: cf. Act. post. xxii. 16, ἀπόλουσαι τὰς ἀμαρτίας σου, *wash away thy sins*.

§ 141. The solemn invocation in this chapter, resembling those which begin and end the exordium (§§ 1, 8), calls attention again to the gravity of the charge about to be made, and to the supreme importance of the events

which led to the fatal issue on the field of Chaeronea. He defends his invocation and his general earnestness in §§ 142—144.

4. πατρῷος: Apollo was the paternal God of Athens, not only as the great Ionic divinity, but as the father of Ion (according to Athenian belief). See Schol. on Ar. Av. 1527, πατρῷον δὲ τιμῶσιν Ἀπόλλωνα Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐπεὶ Ἴων, ὁ πολέμαρχος Ἀθηναίων, ἐξ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Κρεούσης τῆς Ἰοῦθου ἐγένετο. So in the Ion of Euripides.

5. εἰ ἀληθῆ εἵπομαι καὶ εἶπον, lit. *if I should speak the truth to you now and if I did speak it then on the spot*: a double condition combining a future and a past supposition (M.T. 509). We should rather invert the order and say, *if I then spoke the truth and (shall) speak it again now*. Cf. § 190<sup>8</sup>.

9. πρὸς ἔχθραν, *with a view to enmity*: cf. διὰ... ἔχθραν in § 143<sup>10</sup>.—φιλονεικίας, *contentiousness* (against an enemy).

11. ἀνόνητον: so XIX. 315.

Τί οὖν ταῦτ' ἐπήραμαι καὶ διεινάνην οὕτως 142  
σφοδρῶς; ὅτι γράμματ' ἔχων ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ κείμενα,  
ἐξ ὧν ταῦτ' ἐπιδείξω σαφῶς. καὶ ὑμᾶς εἰδὼς τὰ  
πεπραγμένα μνημονεύοντες. ἐκεῖνο φοβοῦμαι, μὴ  
τῶν εἰρησμένων αὐτῷ κακῶν ὑπόληψθῃ· οὗτος 5  
ἐλάττων· ὅπερ πρότερον συνέβη, ὅτε τοὺς ταλαι-  
παίρους Φωκᾶς ἐποίησεν ἀπολέσθαι τὰ ψευδῆ δεῦρ'  
ἀπαγγελλας. τὸν γὰρ ἐν Ἀμφίσση πόλεμον, δι' ὃν 143  
εἰς Ἐλάτειαν ἦλθε Φίλιππος, καὶ δι' ὃν ἡρέθη τῶν  
Ἀμφικτυόνων ἡγεμὼν ὃς ἅπαντ' ἀνέτρεψε τὰ τῶν  
Ἑλλήνων. οὗτος ἐστὶν ὁ συγκατασκευάσας καὶ  
παύων ἐκ ἀγῆρ μεγίστων αἴτιος κακῶν. καὶ τότε 5  
εἰς ἐμοῦ διαμαρτυρομένου καὶ βοῶντος ἐν τῇ ἐκ-  
κλησίᾳ πόλεμον εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν εἰσάγεις,  
Ἀίσχριν πόλεμον Ἀμφικτυονικόν, οἱ μὲν ἐκ

§ 142. 1. ἐπήραμαι: referring to the whole invocation of § 141, but especially to the *improvisation* in the last clause *τι ταῦτ' ἐπιδείξω*: is *why have I made this improvisation?* while *τι διεινάνην οὕτως σφοδρῶς*: (aor.) is *is not this done myself with all this vehemence and earnestness?*

2. ἔχων and εἰδὼς (3) are connectives. *ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ*, in the public assembly: this was in the *Μητροῶν* (see Aesch. III, 187; Paus. I, 3, 5).

3. μὴ ἐλάττων, i.e. lest Aeschines will be thought too small a man to say ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ.

4. ὅπερ πρότερον συνέβη: this allusion to a former time when Aesch. was one of the *οἱ τοῖς Φωκῶν* by Aeschines' *ἡγεμὼν* reports, can refer only to the return of the second embassy in 346 B.C. (see §§ 32—36). This distinct statement that Aesch. was then thought "too insignificant to do so much harm," with the apprehension that the court may make the same mistake again in the

present case, is one of the strongest proofs that the case against Aeschines really came to trial, that the *speeches de Falsa Legatione* were actually spoken, and that Aeschines was acquitted by a small majority.

§ 143. 1. τὸν ἐν Ἀμφίσση πόλεμον: for this and the seizure of Elatea, see § 152<sup>8</sup> and note.

2. ἡρέθη ἡγεμὼν ὃς (sc. *τις*), a man was chosen leader, *who* etc. (i.e. Philip).

3. ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, i.e. in the meeting in which Aesch. made his report of his doings in the Amphictyonic Council (Hist. § 61).

4. εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν: Demosth. saw at once the full meaning of the Amphictyonic war, and knew that it must end in bringing Philip into Greece as the Amphictyonic general (see note on § 139<sup>5</sup>).

5. οἱ...συγκαθήμενοι, *those who sat together by his summons*, i.e. his *παράκλητοι*, with whom he had packed the meeting.

παρακλήσεως συγκαθήμενοι οὐκ εἶων με λέγειν, οἱ  
 δ' ἐθαύμαζον καὶ κενὴν αἰτίαν διὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ἐχθραν <sup>10</sup>  
 ἐπάγειν μ' ὑπελάμβανον αὐτῷ. ἥτις δ' ἡ φύσις, <sup>144</sup>  
 ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, γέγονεν τούτων τῶν πραγμάτων,  
 καὶ τίνος εἵνεκα ταῦτα συνεσκευάσθη καὶ πῶς  
 ἐπράχθη, νῦν ὑπακούσατε, ἐπειδὴ τότ' ἐκωλύθητε.  
 καὶ γὰρ εὖ πρᾶγμα συντεθέν ὄψεσθε, καὶ μεγάλ' <sup>5</sup>  
 ὠφελήσεσθε πρὸς ἱστορίαν τῶν κοινῶν, καὶ ὅση  
 δεινότης ἦν ἐν τῷ Φιλίππῳ θεάσεσθε.

Οὐκ ἦν τοῦ πρὸς ὑμᾶς πολέμου πέρας οὐδ' <sup>145</sup>  
<sup>276</sup> ἀπαλλαγὴ Φιλίππῳ, εἰ μὴ Θηβαίους καὶ Θεττα-  
 λούς ἐχθροὺς ποιήσειε τῇ πόλει· ἀλλὰ καίπερ  
 ἀθλίως καὶ κακῶς τῶν στρατηγῶν τῶν ὑμετέρων

9. οὐκ εἶων με λέγειν, i.e. *would not let me go on speaking* (after my warning).—οἱ δ' ἐθαύμαζον: the ordinary citizens were amazed at anyone who dared to object to the pious and (apparently) patriotic speech of Aeschines. The decree of Demosthenes forbidding Athens to take any part in the future action of the Amphictyonic Council against Amphissa (Aesch. 125—127) was passed at a later meeting, after the people had opened their eyes.

§ 144. 4. ὑπακούσατε: see Plat. Theaet. 162 A, πάντως καὶ νῦν δὴ μάλ' ἐμμέλως σοι ἐφαλντο ὑπακούειν, and 162 D, ταῖς οὖν δημηγορίαις ὁξέως ὑπακούεις. The general meaning is, *now take your opportunity to listen to the story, since you were kept from hearing it at the right time.*

5. εὖ πρᾶγμα συντεθέν, *that the plan was well concocted.*

6. πρὸς ἱστορίαν, *for gaining a knowledge.* The real history of these events must be disentangled from the long story of Aeschines (106—131), supplemented and often corrected by the briefer account of Demosthenes

(145—159). See Hist. §§ 57—62.

§ 145. 1. οὐκ ἦν...εἰ μὴ ποιήσειε: see M.T. 696 and the examples. The protasis depends on an apodosis implied in οὐκ ἦν...Φιλίππῳ, the real meaning being *Philip felt that he could not end or escape the war unless he should make the Th. hostile to our city.* This involves indirect discourse; and we might therefore have had εἰ μὴ ποιήσῃ here for εἰ μὴ ποιήσειε. See Thuc. VII. 59, τὰλλα, ἦν ἔτι ναυμαχεῖν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τολμήσωσι, παρεσκευάζοντο, where the condition really depends on the idea to be ready implied in παρεσκευάζοντο, and εἰ...τολμήσαιεν might have been used. Cf. Thuc. VI. 100, πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, εἰ ἐπιβοηθοῖεν, ἐχώρουν, *they marched towards the city, in case they (the citizens) should rush out, i.e. to meet them in that case; the thought being ἦν ἐπιβοηθῶσιν.*

4. ἀθλίως...πολεμούντων: Chares and Phocion were the Athenian commanders at the beginning of the war, while Philip was besieging Byzantium. Chares was much censured for inefficiency, but for Phocion's general-

πολεμούντων αὐτῷ, ὅμως ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ πολέμου 5  
καὶ τῶν ληστῶν μυρί' ἔπασχε κακά. οὔτε γὰρ  
ἐξήγετο τῶν ἐκ τῆς χώρας γιγνομένων οὐδὲν οὔτ'  
εἰσήγετο ὧν ἐδεῖτ' αὐτῷ. ἦν δ' οὔτ' ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ 146  
τότε κρείττων ὑμῶν, οὔτ' εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐλθεῖν  
δυνατὸς μήτε Θετταλῶν ἀκολουθούντων μήτε Θη-  
βαίων διέντων. συνέβαινε δ' αὐτῷ, τῷ πολέμῳ  
κρατοῦντι τοὺς ὁποιοῦσδήποθ' ὑμεῖς ἐξεπέμπετε 5  
στρατηγούς (ἐὼ γὰρ τοῦτό γε), αὐτῇ τῇ φύσει τοῦ  
τόπου καὶ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἐκατέροις κακοπαθεῖν.  
εἰ μὲν οὖν τῆς ἰδίας ἔνεκ' ἔχθρας ἢ τοὺς Θετταλοὺς 147  
ἢ τοὺς Θηβαίους συμπεῖθαι βαδίζειν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς, οὐδέν

ship there is only praise. These operations are probably those of the later part of 340—339, when Philip was in Scythia (Hist. § 56).

5. ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ πολέμου, i.e. *by the mere state of war*.

6. ληστῶν: a state of war naturally encouraged pirates and plunderers.

7. τῶν ἐκ τῆς χώρας γιγνομένων: see §§ 44<sup>1</sup>, 213<sup>12</sup>.

8. ὧν ἐδεῖτ': sc. οὐδέν.—αὐτῷ, with εἰσήγετο.

§ 146. 3. μήτε...διέντων, i.e. *εἰ μήτε Θετταλοὶ ἀκολουθοῖεν μήτε Θηβαῖοι διένειν*: Philip depended on Thessalian troops to fill his army, but he would have been satisfied with Thebes (under the circumstances) if she had merely made no objection to his marching through Boeotia to attack Athens. There was probably a coolness already between Thebes and Philip, which appears later when Thebes refused to attend the Amphictyonic meeting in the autumn of 339 B.C. (See Aesch. III. 128.) See Hist. § 57, for these relations.

5. ὁποιοῦσδήποθ': here relative, while generally relative forms with οὖν and δήποτε are indefinite. See

τοὺς ὁποιοῦστίνασθουν in VIII. 20, and δτου δήποτε ἔνεκα in § 21<sup>10</sup> (above).

7. τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἐκατέροις, *of the relative resources of each*, i.e. of his own inferiority in resources, especially in naval power. See Thuc. I. 141<sup>8</sup>, where Pericles speaks of the comparative resources of Athens and her enemies: τὰ δὲ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τῶν ἐκατέροις ὑπαρχόντων ὡς οὐκ ἀσθενέστερα ἔχομεν.

§ 147. This is closely connected in thought with the beginning of § 145. How, thought Philip, can I induce the Thessalians and Thebans to join me? He remembered their zeal in the Phocian war: see XIX. 50, τοῖς Ἀμφικτυόσι...πολεῖς: οὐ γὰρ ἦσαν αὐτόθι πλὴν Θηβαῖοι καὶ Θετταλοί. A new Sacred war, or any war for the rights of the Amphictyonic Council, would be sure to rouse their interest again.

1. εἰ μὲν...συμπεῖθαι, i.e. *if he were to join in an attempt to persuade them etc.*: συμ- implies that he would depend greatly on the influence of his friends in Thebes and Thessaly.—ἔνεκ', *on the ground of*.

2. οὐδέν ἡγήετο προσεῖν: I omit *ἀν* before ἡγήετο, with L, A 1, and

ἡγεῖτο προσέξειν αὐτῷ τὸν νοῦν· ἐὰν δὲ τὰς ἐκείνων κοινὰς προφάσεις λαβὼν ἡγεμὼν αἰρεθῇ, ῥᾶον ἤλπιζεν τὰ μὲν παρακρούσσεσθαι τὰ δὲ πείσειν. τί οὖν; 5 ἐπιχερεῖ, θεάσασθ' ὡς εὖ, πόλεμον ποιῆσαι τοῖς Ἀμφικτύοσι καὶ περὶ τὴν Πυλαίαν ταραχὴν· εἰς γὰρ ταῦτ' εὐθὺς αὐτοὺς ὑπελάμβανε αὐτοῦ δεήσεσθαι. εἰ μὲν τοίνυν τοῦτο ἢ τῶν παρ' ἑαυτοῦ πεμπο- 148 μένων ἱερομνημόνων ἢ τῶν ἐκείνου συμμάχων εἰσηγοῦτό τις, ὑπόφessθαι τὸ πρᾶγμ' ἐνόμιζε καὶ τοὺς Θεβαίους καὶ τοὺς Θετταλοὺς καὶ πάντας φυλάξε-

most recent editors, because its insertion is accounted for by the v. l. *προσέχειν*, with which it would be required. (See M.T. 208.) The simple *προσέξειν* is also supported by the following *παρακρούσσεσθαι* and *πείσειν* and by the infinitives in § 148, or the conditional forms in this section and the following, see note on 148<sup>6</sup>.

3. *ἐὰν...αἰρεθῇ*, i.e. *if he should dopt* (as his own) *some grounds common to both Thebans and Thes- salians, and so be chosen general*. See τὰς ἰδίας προφάσεις, opposed to τὰς Ἀμφικτυονικὰς (the real κοινὰς), § 158<sup>1</sup>. The actual result of the theme is seen in §§ 151, 152.

5. *τὰ μὲν...πείσειν*, i.e. *to succeed sometimes by deception, sometimes by persuasion*. For the tense of the infinitive with *ἐλπίζω*, see M.T. 136.

6. *θεάσασθ' ὡς εὖ*, see how craftily: § 144<sup>6</sup>.—*πόλεμον ποιῆσαι* (not *οἰσῆσασθαι*), *to get up a war*, i.e. to get the Amphictyons into a war.

7. *τὴν Πυλαίαν*: the meeting of the Amphictyonic Council was so called, because twice in each year (in the spring and the autumn) the council met first at Thermopylae in the sanctuary of Demeter Amphictonis, and afterwards proceeded to Delphi, where the regular sessions

were held. See Hyper. Epitaph. § 18, ἀφικνούμενοι γὰρ δις τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ εἰς τὴν Πυλαίαν, θεωροὶ γενήσονται τῶν ἔργων κ.τ.λ., with Aesch. III. 126, πορεύεσθαι εἰς Πύλας καὶ εἰς Δελφοὺς ἐν τοῖς τεταγμένοις χρόνοις, and Strab. p. 429 (of Thermopylae) Δήμητρος ἱερὸν, ἐν ᾧ κατὰ πᾶσαν Πυλαίαν θυσίαν ἐτέλουν οἱ Ἀμφικτύονες. Records of Amphictyonic meetings at Delphi in the spring as well as the autumn are found in inscriptions.—*εἰς ταῦτ'...δεήσεσθαι*, *would need him for these*, especially for the war, as the only available commander.

§ 148. Having made up his mind (1) that he must have the support of Thebes and Thessaly (§§ 145, 146), and (2) that he can secure this only by an Amphictyonic war (§ 147), he now (3) determines to find some Athenian to instigate the war, to disarm all suspicion in advance. For this important work he hires Aeschines (§ 148).

2. *ἱερομνημόνων*: for the constitution of the Amphictyonic Council see Essay v.—*ἐκείνου*, *his*, from the orator's point of view, just after ἑαυτοῦ, *his own*, from Philip's: cf. Xen. Mem. IV. 7, 1, τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γνώμην ἀπεφαίνετο πρὸς τοὺς ὁμιλοῦντας αὐτῷ.

σθαι, ἂν δ' Ἀθηναῖος ἦ καὶ παρ' ὑμῶν τῶν ὑπεναντίων 5  
 ὁ τοῦτο ποιῶν, εὐπόρως λήσειν· ὅπερ συνέβη. πῶς  
 οὖν ταύτ' ἐποίησεν; μισθοῦται τουτονί. οὐδενὸς δὲ 14  
 προειδότος, οἶμαι, τὸ πρᾶγμ' οὐδὲ φυλάττοντος, ὥσπερ  
 277 εἶωθε τὰ τοιαῦτα παρ' ὑμῖν γίνεσθαι, προβληθεῖς  
 πυλάγορος οὗτος καὶ τριῶν ἢ τεττάρων χειροτονη-  
 σάντων αὐτὸν ἀνερρήθη. ὥς δὲ τὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀξίωμα 5  
 λαβὼν ἀφίκετ' εἰς τοὺς Ἀμφικτύονας, πάντα τᾶλλ'  
 ἀφείς καὶ παρίδων, ἐπέβαινεν ἐφ' οἷς ἐμισθώθη, καὶ  
 λόγους εὐπροσώπους καὶ μύθους, ὅθεν ἡ Κιρραία

5. ἂν δ' Ἀθηναῖος ἦ: we have the same antithesis here between ἂν... ἦ and the preceding *εἰ... εἰσηγοίτο* which we had in § 147 between *ἂν... αἰρεθῇ* (3) and *εἰ συμπεῖθαι* (1). It is commonly assumed that ἂν with the subjunctive expresses greater probability or likelihood that the supposition may prove true than *εἰ* with the optative; and this double antithesis is often cited as a strong confirmation of this view. It seems to be overlooked that all four suppositions are in *oratio obliqua* after past tenses, and would all be expressed in the *oratio recta* (i.e. as Philip conceived them) by subjunctives, *ἂν συμπεῖθω, αἰρεθῶ, εἰσηγήται, Ἀθηναῖος ἦ*, which would all be retained if the leading verb were present or future. If these forms now show any inherent distinction between subj. and opt. as regards probability, this has been introduced by the *oratio obliqua* after a past tense. The two subjunctives express the plans which Philip had most at heart, and the two optatives express the opposite alternatives. Cf. note on *εἰ προαιρησάμεθ'* in § 176<sup>1</sup>. See Trans. of the Am. Philol. Assoc. for 1873, pp. 71, 72, and the Eng. Journ. of Philology vol. v. no. 10, p. 198.

§ 149. 3. προβληθεῖς, *nominated*:

the πυλάγοροι were chosen by *har* vote (*χειροτονησάντων*), while the *λερομνημών*, the higher officer, was chosen annually by lot (*λαχῶν*, A. Nub. 623).

4. τριῶν ἢ τεττάρων: this *sm* vote shows how little the Assembly understood the importance of the election.

5. ἀξίωμα, *prestige, dignity* (of delegate of Athens).

6. εἰς τοὺς Ἀμφικτύονας: this was the meeting in the spring of 339 B.C., described by Aeschines (I. 115—124).

8. εὐπροσώπους, *plausible* (*fair faced*; cf. *barefaced*).—μύθους, *talk*, referring to the eloquent account of the first Sacred war in the time of Solon (Aesch. III. 107—112).—ὅθεν καθιερώθη, *from the time when the plain of Cirrha was consecrated*: Aesch. III. 61, λέξω ὅθεν μάλιον παρακολονθήσεται. We see by this that Aeschines repeated to the Amphictyons in 339 his story of the consecration of the plain of Cirrha, with all the terrible curses which were imprecated against those who should cultivate the devoted land, which he told in court in 330. The consecration was made at the end of the first Sacred war, about 586 B.C.

χώρα καθιερώθη, συνθείς καὶ διεξεληθὼν, ἀνθρώπους ἀπείρους λόγων καὶ τὸ μέλλον οὐ προὐρωμένους, 10 τοὺς ἱερομνήμονας, πείθει ψηφίσασθαι περιελθεῖν 150 τὴν χώραν ἣν οἱ μὲν Ἀμφισσεῖς σφῶν αὐτῶν οὖσαν γεωργεῖν ἔφασαν, οὗτος δὲ τῆς ἱερᾶς, <sup>ἐκείνης</sup> χώρας ἵτιαι εἶναι, οὐδεμίαν δίκην τῶν Λοκρῶν ἐπαγόντων ἡμῖν, οὐδ' ἂ νῦν οὗτος προφασίζεται λέγων οὐκ ἀληθῆ. 5 γνῶσεσθε δ' ἐκείθεν. οὐκ ἐνῆν ἄνευ τοῦ πρόσκαλέσασθαι δῆπου τοῖς Λοκροῖς δίκην κατὰ τῆς πόλεως τελέσασθαι. τίς οὖν ἐκλήτευσεν ἡμᾶς; ἀπὸ ποίας

10. ἀπείρους λόγων: "to the comparatively rude men at Delphi, the echo of a first-rate Athenian orator as a rarity." (Grote.) The Amphictonic Council was composed chiefly representatives of obscure and uncultivated states. It was, in fact, mere relic of antiquity, which had utilized its right to exist; and in the time of Philip it was merely advanced into an unnatural vitality, which proved fatal to Greece and helpful only to the invader. See Grote's remarks at the beginning of chap. 87. Hist. §§ 59, 60.

§ 150. 1. περιελθεῖν τὴν χώραν: *make an inspection* (περίοδος) of the land. An inscription of 380 B.C. records an order of the Amphictyons for official *περίοδοι* of the consecrated land, and for imposing a fine on any who should be found encroaching on it.

3. ἵτιαι, *alleged* (in his accusation).

4. οὐδεμίαν ἐπαγόντων: Aesch. (16) says the Amphissians *intended propose* a decree: in the Council (ἐσέφερον δόγμα) fining Athens fifty talents for hanging up on the walls of the new temple some old shields, relics of Plataea, with the restored inscription, Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπὸ Μήδων καὶ

Θηβαίων δε τάναντία τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἐμάχοντο. Demosthenes cannot understand by δίκην ἐπαγόντων what Aeschines means by εἰσέφερον δόγμα. An intention to introduce a decree (εἰσέφερον) would not need a previous summons, which δίκην ἐπάγειν, and still more δίκην τελέσασθαι (7), *to make a suit ready for trial*, would require. And the further remark of Demosthenes, οὐδ' ἂ νῦν οὗτος προφασίζεται (5), seems to imply that Aeschines had told a different story about the intentions of the Amphissians when he made his report of the meeting at Delphi (III. 125) from that which he told in court. It is therefore difficult to judge the argument of Demosthenes about the want of a legal summons.

8. ἀπὸ ποίας ἀρχῆς; *from what authority* did the summons come? Witnesses to a summons were required at Athens when the defendant was in Attica. These were called κλητῆρες, which same name was given to the officers of the law who served a summons on persons outside of Attica: see Ar. Av. 127, 1422. ἐκλήτευσεν refers to the act of such an Amphictyonic κλητῆρ.

9. δείξον: cf. δείξον, XXIX. 41.— ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν ἔχοις: so § 76<sup>3</sup>.

ἀρχῆς; εἰπέ τὸν εἰδότα, δεῖξον. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν ἔχοις, ἀλλὰ κενῇ προφάσει ταύτῃ κατεχρῶ καὶ ψευδεῖ. 10  
 περιόντων τοίνυν τὴν χώραν τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων 151  
 κατὰ τὴν ὑφήγησιν τὴν τούτου, προσπεσόντες οἱ  
 Λοκροὶ μικροῦ κατηκόντισαν ἅπαντας, τινὰς δὲ καὶ  
 συνήρπασαν τῶν ἱερομνημόνων. ὥς δ' ἄπαξ ἐκ τούτων  
 ἐγκλήματα καὶ πόλεμος πρὸς τοὺς Ἀμφισσέας ἐτα- 5  
 ράχθη, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὁ Κόττυφος αὐτῶν τῶν  
 Ἀμφικτυόνων ἤγαγε στρατιάν· ὥς δ' οἱ μὲν οὐκ  
 ἦλθον, οἱ δ' ἐλθόντες οὐδὲν ἐποιοῦν, εἰς τὴν ἐπιούσαν  
 Πυλαίαν ἐπὶ τὸν Φίλιππον εὐθὺς ἡγεμόν' ἦγον οἱ  
 κατεσκευασμένοι καὶ πάλαι πονηροὶ τῶν Θετταλῶν 10

10. Notice position of ταύτη.

§ 151. 1. περιόντων: cf. περιελθεῖν, § 150<sup>1</sup>. See Aesch. 122, 123.

3. μικροῦ (M.T. 779<sup>b</sup>), almost, belongs to κατηκόντισαν: cf. Aesch. 123, εἰ μὴ ἐξεφύγομεν, ἐκινδυνεύσαμεν ἀπολέσθαι. See § 269<sup>b</sup>.

5. ἐγκλήμ...ἐταράχθη: we have πλεονασμὸν, like *proelia miscere* or *confundere*, Plat. Rep. 567 A, and ἐγκλήματα ταραξείν, Plut. Them. 5 (B.).

6. Κόττυφος: the president of the Council, a Thessalian of Pharsalus.

7. οὐκ ἦλθον: e.g. Thebans and Athenians, and doubtless others.

8. οὐδὲν ἐποιοῦν: see Aesch. 129. —εἰς τὴν ἐπιούσαν...ἦγον (sc. τὰ πράγματα), took measures at once, against the coming meeting (autumn of 339), to put things (i.e. the war) into the hands of Philip as commander. See IX. 57, οἱ μὲν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἦγον τὰ πράγματα, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ Φίλιππον.

9. οἱ κατεσκευασμένοι (pass.), those with whom arrangements had been made.

10. πάλαι πονηροὶ: cf. § 158<sup>7</sup>, ὑπὸ πολλῶν καὶ πονηρῶν.

Demosthenes distinctly implies that Cottyphus was made general at the spring meeting, but that, after a mere

pretence of war, intrigues at once began for superseding him by Philip at the autumnal meeting (εἰς τὴν ἐπιούσαν Πυλαίαν). Aeschines, on the contrary, whose whole object is to show that a real Amphictyonic war was intended, with no help or thought of help from Philip, and to represent Philip's final appointment as commander as a remote afterthought, states that no action was taken against the Amphissians in the spring, but that a special meeting was called before the regular autumnal Πυλαία, to take such action (124). At this special meeting, which Athens and Thebes refused to attend (Aesch. 126—128), Cottyphus was chosen general, (according to Aesch.) while Philip was "away off in Scythia"; and after a successful campaign the Amphissians were fined and their offending citizens were banished. But they refused to submit; and finally, "a long time afterwards" (πολλῷ χρόνῳ ὕστερον), a second expedition became necessary "after Philip's return from his Scythian expedition"; —he does not even then say that Philip was actually made general! See Hist. §§ 61—63.

καὶ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσι. καὶ προφάσεις 152  
 εὐλόγους ἐιληφέσαν· ἡ γὰρ αὐτοῖς εἰσφέρειν καὶ  
 278 ξένους τρέφειν ἔφασαν δεῖν καὶ ζημιοῦν τοὺς μὴ  
 ταῦτα ποιοῦντας, ἡ 'κείνον αἰρῆσθαι. τί δέι τὰ  
 πολλὰ λέγειν; ἡρέθη γὰρ ἐκ τούτων ἡγεμών. καὶ 5  
 μετὰ ταῦτ' εὐθέως δύναμιν συλλέξας καὶ παρελθὼν  
 ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν Κιρραίαν, ἐρρώσθαι φράσας, πολλὰ  
 Κιρραίοις καὶ Λοκροῖς, τὴν Ἐλάτειαν καταλαμβάνει.  
 εἰ μὲν οὖν μὴ μετέγνωσαν εὐθέως, ὡς τοῦτ' εἶδον, οἱ 153  
 Θηβαῖοι καὶ μεθ' ἡμῶν ἐγένοντο, ὥσπερ χειμάρρους  
 ἂν ἅπαν τοῦτο τὸ πρᾶγμ' εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἰσέπεσε.  
 νῦν δὲ τό γ' ἐξαίφνης ἐπέσχον αὐτὸν ἐκείνοι, μάλιστα  
 μὲν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, θεῶν τινας εὐνοία πρὸς ὑμᾶς, 5

§ 152. 2. αὐτοὺς εἰσφέρειν...  
 δεῖν, they must themselves (ipsos) pay  
 taxes.

4. ἡ 'κείνον αἰρεῖσθαι: this alter-  
 native was one of the προφάσεις  
 εὐλογοί (§ 152<sup>1</sup>) for choosing Philip.

6. παρελθὼν (sc. εἰσω Πυλῶν): cf.  
 § 35<sup>8</sup>.

7. ἐρρώσθαι φράσας πολλὰ, bid-  
 ding many farewells (a long adieu):  
 so XIX. 248. Cf. ἔρρωσο, vale.

8. Ἐλάτειαν: when Philip had  
 passed Thermopylae, he hardly made  
 a pretence of entering into the war  
 with Amphissa, for which he was  
 chosen commander; and he soon ap-  
 peared at the Phocian town of Elatea,  
 which commanded the pass into  
 Boeotia and "the road to Athens."  
 This move left no further doubt as  
 to his real intentions. Aeschines says  
 (140) of Philip's sudden movement,  
 τὸν πόλεμον δὲ πρότερον ἐξήλασεν ἐκ  
 τῆς χώρας τῆς Βοιωτῶν (i.e. the Pho-  
 cian war), τοῦτον πάλιν τὸν αὐτὸν πό-  
 λεμον (i.e. a similar sacred war) ἐπῆγε  
 διὰ τῆς Φωκίδος ἐπ' αὐτὰς τὰς Θήβας.  
 Philip must have been made general

in the early autumn of 339 B.C., and  
 probably, seized Elatea in the late  
 autumn or early winter; so that the  
 campaign lasted about eight or nine  
 months until the battle of Chaeroneia  
 in August or September 338. A  
 "winter battle" is naturally men-  
 tioned in § 216<sup>6</sup>. The startling effect  
 at Athens of the news from Elatea  
 is described in §§ 169 ff.

§ 153. 2. μεθ' ἡμῶν ἐγένοντο,  
 joined us.—ὥσπερ χειμάρρους, like a  
 winter torrent: most of the rivers of  
 Greece are nearly or quite dry the  
 greater part of the year, and in the  
 winter and spring are often filled by  
 rushing torrents. Many of these,  
 when dry, still serve as paths over  
 the mountain passes. Similar simple  
 comparisons are ὥσπερ νέφος, § 188<sup>5</sup>  
 (cf. νυκτὶ εὐκίως, II. I. 47); ὥσπερ  
 πνεῦμα, § 308<sup>9</sup>.

3. ἅπαν τοῦτο τὸ πρᾶγμ': we  
 might say *this whole thing*, but with  
 far less dignity.

4. νῦν, as it was, in fact, opposed  
 to εἰ μὴ μετέγνωσαν: cf. § 133<sup>1</sup>.—τό  
 γ' ἐξαίφνης, for the moment..

εἶτα μέντοι, καὶ ὅσον καθ' ἑν' ἄνδρα, καὶ δι' ἐμέ.  
 δὸς δέ μοι τὰ δόγματα ταῦτα καὶ τοὺς χρόνους ἐν οἷς  
 ἕκαστα πέπρακται, ἵν' εἰδῇτε ἡλίκα πράγμαθ' ἡ  
 μιὰρὰ κεφαλὴ τaráξας αὕτη δίκην οὐκ ἔδωκεν.  
 λέγε μοι τὰ δόγματα.

154

## ΔΟΓΜΑ ΑΜΦΙΚΤΥΟΝΩΝ.

[Ἐπὶ ἱερέως Κλειναγόρου, ἑαρινῆς πυλαίας, ἔδοξε τοῖς  
 πυλαγόροις καὶ τοῖς συνέδροις τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων καὶ τῷ  
 κοινῷ τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων, ἐπειδὴ Ἀμφισσεῖς ἐπιβαίνουσιν  
 ἐπὶ τὴν ἱερὰν χώραν καὶ σπεύρουσι καὶ βοσκήμασι κατανέ- 5  
 μουσιν, ἐπελθεῖν τοὺς πυλαγόρους καὶ τοὺς συνέδρους, καὶ  
 στήλαις διαλαβεῖν τοὺς ὅρους, καὶ ἀπειπεῖν τοῖς Ἀμφισ-  
 σεύσι τοῦ λοιποῦ μὴ ἐπιβαίνειν.]

## ΕΤΕΡΟΝ ΔΟΓΜΑ.

[Ἐπὶ ἱερέως Κλειναγόρου, ἑαρινῆς πυλαίας, ἔδοξε τοῖς 155  
 279 πυλαγόροις καὶ τοῖς συνέδροις τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων καὶ τῷ  
 κοινῷ τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων, ἐπειδὴ οἱ ἐξ Ἀμφίσσης τὴν ἱερὰν  
 χώραν κατανειμάμενοι γεωργοῦσι καὶ βοσκήματα νέμονται, καὶ  
 κωλύμενοι τοῦτο ποιεῖν, ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις παραγενόμενοι, τὸ 5  
 κοινὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων συνέδριον κεκωλύκασιν μετὰ βίας,  
 τινὰς δὲ καὶ τετρανματίκασιν, τὸν στρατηγὸν τὸν ἡρμῆμενον  
 τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων Κόττυφον τὸν Ἀρκάδα πρεσβεῦσαι πρὸς  
 Φίλιππον τὸν Μακεδόνα, καὶ ἀξιοῦν ἵνα βοηθήσῃ τῷ τε  
 Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ τοῖς Ἀμφικτύουσιν, ὅπως μὴ περιῶδῃ ὑπὸ τῶν 10

6. εἶτα...δι' ἐμέ, lit. *but besides, and so far as depended on any one man, also through me*: the former καὶ connects ὅσον...ἄνδρα to εἶτα.

7. δόγματα ταῦτα are Amphictyonic decrees about the Amphissian affair.—τοὺς χρόνους: we see from § 155<sup>14</sup> that this was an official statement from the records, showing that these decrees were passed when

Aeschines was πυλάγορος.

8. ἡ μιὰρὰ κεφαλὴ: cf. XXI. 117, καὶ ταῦτ' ἔλεγεν ἡ μιὰρὰ καὶ ἀναιδὲς αὕτη κεφαλὴ ἐξεληλυθὼς κ.τ.λ., and XIX. 313.

9. τaráξας: we should express τaráξασα by the leading verb, and δίκην οὐκ ἔδωκεν by *without being punished*. With πράγματα τaráξασα cf. § 151<sup>6</sup> and note.

ἀσεβῶν Ἀμφισσέων τὸν θεὸν πλημμελούμενον· καὶ διότι αὐτὸν στρατηγὸν αὐτοκράτορα αἰροῦνται οἱ Ἕλληνες οἱ μετέχοντες τοῦ συνεδρίου τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων.]

Λέγε δὴ καὶ τοὺς χρόνους ἐν οἷς ταῦτ' ἐγίνετο· εἰς γὰρ καθ' οὓς ἐπυλαγόρησεν οὗτος. λέγε. 15

## ΧΡΟΝΟΙ.

[Ἀρχων Μνησιθείδης, μηνὸς ἀνθεστηριῶνος ἕκτη ἐπὶ δέκα.]

Δὸς δὴ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἦν, ὡς οὐχ ὑπήκουον οἱ 156  
Θηβαῖοι, πέμπει πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Πελοποννησῷ συμμά-  
χους ὁ Φίλιππος, ἵν' εἰδῇτε καὶ ἐκ ταύτης σαφῶς ὅτι  
τὴν μὲν ἀληθῆ πρόφασιν τῶν πραγμάτων, τὸ ταῦτ'  
ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους καὶ ὑμᾶς πρᾶτ- 5  
τειν, ἀπεκρύπτετο, κοινὰ δὲ καὶ τοῖς Ἀμφικτύοσι  
δόξαντα ποιεῖν προσεποιεῖτο. ὁ δὲ τὰς ἀφορμὰς  
ταύτας καὶ τὰς προφάσεις αὐτῷ παρασχὼν οὗτος ἦν.  
λέγε.

280

## ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ.

[Βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων Φίλιππος Πελοποννησίων τῶν ἐν 157  
τῇ συμμαχίᾳ τοῖς δημιουργοῖς καὶ τοῖς συνέδροις καὶ τοῖς  
ἄλλοις συμμάχοις πᾶσι χαίρειν. ἐπειδὴ Λοκροὶ οἱ καλου-  
μενοὶ Ὀζόλαι, κατοικοῦντες ἐν Ἀμφίσσῃ, πλημμελοῦσιν εἰς  
τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς καὶ τὴν ἱερὰν χώραν 5  
ἐρχόμενοι μεθ' ὅπλων λεηλατοῦσι, βούλομαι τῷ θεῷ μεθ'

§ 156. 1. οὐχ ὑπήκουον: this must refer to a refusal of the Thebans, before the seizure of Elatea, to join Philip in an expedition against the Amphissians, against whom he professed to be marching: see § 152<sup>7</sup>, ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν Κιρραίαν.

2. συμμάχους: i.e. the Arcadians, Eleans, and Argives. See Isocr. v. 74, Ἀργεῖοι δὲ καὶ Μεσσήνιοι καὶ Μεγαλοπολίται καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολλοὶ

συμπολεμεῖν (sc. ὑπάρχουσὶ σοι ἑτοιμοί), and Dem. ix. 27. See Hist. §§ 41, 42.

6. κοινὰ: cf. κοινὰς προφάσεις, §§ 147<sup>4</sup>, 158<sup>1-3</sup>.—τοῖς Ἀμφικτύοσι δόξαντα, *Amphictyonic decrees*, & τοῖς Ἀμφ. ἔδοξεν. Cf. III. 14, τὸ ποιεῖν ἐθέλειν τὰ γε δόξαντα. The older Athenian decrees began with ἔδοξε τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ.

ἡμῶν βοηθεῖν καὶ ἀμύνεσθαι τοὺς παραβαίνοντάς τι τῶν ἐν  
 ἡθρώποις εὐσεβῶν ὥστε συναντᾶτε μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων εἰς τὴν  
 Φωκίδα, ἔχοντες ἐπισιτισμὸν ἡμερῶν τετταράκοντα, τοῦ ἐνε- 10  
 λτώτος μηνὸς λῶου, ὡς ἡμεῖς ἄγομεν, ὡς δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι, βοη-  
 ῥομίωνος, ὡς δὲ Κορίνθιοι, πανήμον. τοῖς δὲ μὴ συναντήσουσι  
 πανδημεὶ χρησόμεθα [τοῖς δὲ συμβούλοις ἡμῖν κειμένοις]  
 ἐπιζημίους. εὐτυχεῖτε].

Ὅραθ' ὅτι φεύγει τὰς ἰδίας προφάσεις, εἰς δὲ τὰς 158  
 Ἀμφικτυονικὰς καταφεύγει. τίς οὖν ὁ ταῦτα συμ-  
 παρασκευάσας αὐτῷ; τίς ὁ τὰς προφάσεις ταύτας  
 ἐνδούς; τίς ὁ τῶν κακῶν τῶν γεγεννημένων μάλιστ'  
 αἴτιος; οὐχ οὗτος; μὴ τοίνυν λέγετε, ὦ ἄνδρες 5  
 Ἀθηναῖοι, περιμόντες ὡς ὑφ' ἐνὸς τοιαῦτα πέπονθεν  
 ἡ Ἑλλάς ἀνθρώπου. οὐχ ὑφ' ἐνὸς, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ πολλῶν  
 καὶ πονηρῶν τῶν παρ' ἐκάστοις, ὦ γῆ καὶ θεοί· ὦν 159  
 εἰς οὗτοσ', ὅν, εἰ μὴδὲν εὐλαβηθέντα τάληθες εἰπεῖν  
 δεοί, οὐκ ἂν ὀκνήσαιμ' ἔγωγε κοινὸν ἀλιτήριον τῶν  
 μετὰ ταῦτ' ἀπολωλότων ἀπάντων εἰπεῖν, ἀνθρώπων,  
 τόπων, πόλεων· ὁ γὰρ τὸ σπέρμα παρασχὼν, οὗτος 5  
 τῶν φύντων κακῶν αἴτιος. ὃν ὅπως ποτ' οὐκ εὐθύς

§ 158. 2. Ἀμφικτυονικὰς: see  
 §§ 147<sup>h</sup>, 156.—καταφεύγει, *takes ref-*  
*uge*, opposed to φεύγει (1), *shuns*.

3. προφάσεις ἐνδούς: cf. Thuc. II.  
 87 (end), οὐκ ἐνδῶσομεν πρόφασιν  
 οὐδενὶ κακῷ γενέσθαι.

5. μὴ λέγετε περιμόντες, *do not go*  
*about and tell*.

6. ὑφ' ἐνὸς ἀνθρώπου, i.e. by  
 Philip: cf. εἰς ἀνὴρ (of Philip), XIX.  
 64. Philip (he says) could never have  
 accomplished his purpose, had he not  
 had such accomplices as Aeschines.  
 Notice the effective collocation in ἡ  
 Ἑλλάς ἀνθρώπου.

§ 159. 2. μὴδὲν εὐλαβηθέντα,  
*without reserve*.

3. κοινὸν ἀλιτήριον, *a common*  
*curse and destroyer*. An ἀλιτήριος is

a man who has sinned against the  
 Gods and is thereby under a curse,  
 which curse he transmits to others  
 with whom he has to do; also an  
 avenging divinity: cf. Aen. II. 573,  
 Troiae et patriae communis Erinny  
 (of Helen). See Andocides I. 130,  
 131. Ἀλάστωρ is similarly used in  
 both senses: see § 296<sup>h</sup>, XIX. 305;  
 see also Aeschyl. Eum. 236, δέχου  
 δὲ πρηνεμεῶς ἀλάστορα (one who has  
 already been purified); Pers. 354,  
 φανεῖς ἀλάστωρ ἢ κακὸς δαίμων ποθέει.  
 Aeschines twice (III. 131, 157) calls  
 Demosthenes τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀλιτήριος  
 (see Blass).

6. τῶν φύντων κακῶν (so Σ), *of*  
*the harvest of woes*: without κακῶν,  
 which many omit, we should have

81 <sup>late</sup> <sup>μυρ...</sup> *ιδόντες ἀπεστράφητε θαυμάζω. πλὴν πολὺ τι σκότος, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐστὶν παρ' ὑμῖν πρὸ τῆς ἀληθείας.*

Συμβέβηκε τοίνυν μοι τῶν κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος 160  
τούτῳ πεπραγμένων ἀψαμένῳ εἰς ἃ τούτοις ἐναντιό-  
μενος αὐτὸς πεπολίτευμαι ἀφίχθαι· ἃ πολλῶν μὲν  
21 *ἔνεκ' ἂν εἰκότως ἀκούσαιτέ μου, μάλιστα δ' ὅτι*  
*αἰσχρὸν ἐστίν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, εἰ ἐγὼ μὲν τὰ 5*  
*ἔργα τῶν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν πόνων ὑπέμεινα, ὑμεῖς δὲ μηδὲ*  
*τούς λόγους αὐτῶν ἀνέξεσθε. ὁρῶν γὰρ ἐγὼ Θη- 161*

ie common saying about the harvest.  
ic. Phil. II. 22. 55 perhaps supports  
ικῶν: ut igitur in seminibus est  
iusa arborum et stirpium, sic huius  
ictuosissimi belli semen tu fuisti.—  
v: object of both *ιδόντες* and *ἀπε-*  
*στράφητε*: the latter becomes tran-  
sitive in the passive, like *φοβέω*,  
πλήσσω, etc.

8. *πρὸ τῆς ἀληθείας*: i.e. so as to  
conceal the truth from you.

§§ 160—226. The orator now  
passes to his own agency in opposing  
the joint plot of Aeschines and Philip.  
See introductory note on §§ 126—226.  
After speaking of the enmity between  
Athens and Thebes, which men like  
Aeschines had encouraged (§§ 160—  
163), he gives a graphic account of  
the panic excited at Athens by Philip's  
seizure of Elatea, and of the manner  
in which he took advantage of this  
emergency to bring Athens and Thebes  
to a better understanding and even to  
an alliance against the common enemy  
§§ 168—226). Into this account  
he introduces (§§ 189—210) a most  
eloquent and earnest defence of the  
whole line of policy in opposition to  
Philip which Athens had followed  
chiefly by his advice. He pleads that  
Athens, with her glorious traditions,  
could have taken no other course,  
even if she had seen the fatal defeat

at Chaeronea in advance. This is the  
most eloquent and impassioned pas-  
sage in the oration; and it is addressed  
not merely to the court, but to the  
whole people and to future ages.

§ 160. 4. *ἀκούσαιτε*: this read-  
ing, though it has slight MS. authority,  
is necessary here, with *ἔνεκ' ἂν* in Z  
and L. Σ often has ε for αι or αι  
for ε, from their identity in later pro-  
nunciation.

5, 7. *τὰ ἔργα...τούς λόγους*: the  
actual labours, contrasted with merely  
listening to the account of them. Cf.  
*λόγῳ* and *τὰ ἔργα*, Thuc. I. 22.

The orator introduces this contin-  
uation of his political history in an  
apologetic way, as in § 110<sup>b</sup> he pro-  
fessed to leave it doubtful whether he  
should speak at all of these later acts,  
*τὰ μέγιστα.....πεπραγμένων* (see  
note). This is a part of the skilful  
device by which he divides the long  
account of his public life, while at the  
same time he reminds the court that  
the brilliant passage which follows is  
over and above what is needed to  
defend Ctesiphon (see § 126<sup>1</sup>), and  
asks their attention to it as a personal  
favour to himself.

§ 161. The orator recurs to the  
critical moment in the relations of  
Athens and Thebes, when both were  
astounded by the sudden seizure of  
Elatea, and the great question was

βαίους σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς ὑπὸ τῶν τὰ Φιλίππου  
φρονούντων καὶ διεφθαρμένων παρ' ἐκατέροις, ὃ μὲν  
ἦν ἀμφοτέροις φοβερὸν καὶ φυλακῆς πολλῆς δεόμενον,  
τὸ τὸν Φίλιππον εἶναι αὐξάνεσθαι, παρορῶντας· καὶ 5  
οὐδὲ καθ' ἓν φυλαττομένους, εἰς ἔχθραν δὲ καὶ τὸ  
προσκρούειν ἀλλήλοις ἐτοίμως ἔχοντας, ὅπως τοῦτο  
μὴ γένοιτο παρατηρῶν διετέλουν, οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς ἑμαυ-  
τοῦ γνώμης μόνον ταῦτα συμφέρειν ὑπολαμβάνων,  
ἀλλ' εἰδὼς Ἀριστοφῶντα καὶ πάλιν Εὐβουλον πάντα 162  
τὸν χρόνον βουλομένους πράξαι ταύτην τὴν φιλίαν,  
καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολλὰκις ἀντιλέγοντας ἑαυτοῖς  
τοῦθ' ὁμογνωμονοῦντας αἰεὶ. οὓς σὺ ζῶντας μὲν, ὧ  
κίναδος, κολακεύων παρηκολούθεις, τεθνεώτων δ' οὐκ 5

whether Thebes would join Philip against Athens, or Athens against the invader.

1. ὁρῶν: with παρορῶντας (5), φυλαττομένους, and ἔχοντας (M.T. 904).

2. ὑπὸ τῶν... διεφθαρμένων: expressing the agency by which the condition described in παρορῶντας etc. was effected, as if the participles were passive.

3. παρ' ἐκατέροις, i.e. in each city. For Athens the great danger was that her old enmity against Thebes might prevent her from taking the only safe course, union with Thebes. For Philip's way of working in such cases, see § 61. Dissen contrasts παρ' ἐκατέροις, apud utrosque seorsim, in each city, with ἀμφοτέροις (4), utrisque simul, both.

5. τὸ... αὐξάνεσθαι: appositive to the omitted antecedent of ὃ (3), which is the object of παρορῶντας etc.

7. ὅπως τοῦτο (τὸ προσκρούειν) μὴ γένοιτο (so Σ and L<sup>1</sup>): most MSS. have the more common γενήσεται (M.T. 339, 340).

8. παρατηρῶν διετέλουν, I kept continual watch.

9. ταῦτα: the policy of friendship

with Thebes (ταύτην τὴν φιλίαν, § 162<sup>2</sup>), implied in ὅπως τοῦτο μὴ γένοιτο.

§ 162. 1. Ἀριστοφῶντα (see § 70<sup>6</sup>), a leading statesman of the earlier period and a strong friend of Thebes. Aesch. says of him (III. 139), πλεῖστον χρόνον τὴν τοῦ βοιωτιάζειν ὑπομείνας αἰτίαν.—Εὐβουλον (cf. § 70<sup>6</sup>): see Grote xi. 387.

2. βουλομένους and ὁμογνωμονοῦντας (4) are imperfect, past to εἰδὼς and διετέλουν: but ἀντιλέγοντας (3), though they opposed one another, is present to ὁμογν., to which it is subordinate.—ταύτην τὴν φιλίαν: the friendship for Thebes during the oppressive Spartan supremacy, which appeared in the aid privately sent by Thebes to Thebes when she expelled the Spartan garrison from the Cadmea in 379 B.C. This friendship was broken after Leuctra in 371. See § 98<sup>4</sup> and note.

5. παρηκολούθεις is more than you were one of their followers; it means you followed them round or hung on to them in a servile way. Eubulus was one of the συνήγοροι who supported Aesch. at his trial for παραπρεσβεία (Aesch. II. 184). The anonymous

αἰσθάνει κατηγορῶν· ἃ γὰρ περὶ Θηβαίων ἐπιτιμᾶς  
 ἐμοί, ἐκείνων πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ ἐμοῦ κατηγορεῖς, τῶν  
 πρότερον ἢ ἐγὼ ταύτην τὴν συμμαχίαν δοκιμασάν-  
 των. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖς' ἐπάνειμι, ὅτι τὸν ἐν Ἀμφίσῃ 163  
 πόλεμον τούτου μὲν ποιήσαντος, συμπεραναμένων δὲ  
 τῶν ἄλλων τῶν συνεργῶν αὐτῷ τὴν πρὸς Θηβαίους  
 282 ἔχθραν, συνέβη τὸν Φίλιππον ἐλθεῖν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, οὐπερ  
 ἔνεκα τὰς πόλεις οὗτοι <sup>ἐν</sup> ἐνέκρουον, καὶ εἰ μὴ προεξ- 5  
 ἀνέστημεν μικρὸν, οὐδ' ἀναλαβεῖν ἂν ἡδυνίθημεν.  
 οὕτω μέχρι πόρρω προήγαγον οὗτοι. ἐν οἷς δ' ἦτ'  
 7 ἤδη τὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους, τούτωνι τῶν ψηφισμάτων  
 ἀκούσαντες καὶ τῶν ἀποκρίσεων εἴσεσθε. καὶ μοι  
 λέγε ταῦτα λαβῶν.

10

## ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

[Ἐπὶ ἀρχόντος Ἡροπύθου, μηνὸς ἐλαφηβολιῆνος ἔκτη 164  
 φθίνοντος, φυλῆς πρυτανευούσης Ἐρεχθίδος, βουλῆς καὶ  
 στρατηγῶν γνώμη, ἐπειδὴ Φίλιππος αὖς μὲν κατεῖλθε πόλεις  
 τῶν ἀστυγειτόνων, τινὰς δὲ πορθεῖ, κεφαλαίῳ δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν

Life of Aeschines makes him a clerk to both Eubulus and Aristophon.

6. ἃ...ἐπιτιμᾶς: the charge of favouring Thebes in the terms of the alliance in 339—338 B.C. (Aesch. 141—143).

§ 163. 1. ἐκεῖς', i.e. to the main point.

2. ποιήσαντος, συμπεραναμένων: συμ- implies that, while Aesch. got up the Amphisian war by himself, he had active helpers in stirring up enmity at Athens against Thebes. When all was ready, Philip appeared at Elatea (ἐλθεῖν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, 4): cf. § 168<sup>2</sup>.

5. εἰ μὴ...μικρὸν, if we had not roused ourselves a little too soon (for the success of the plot): μικρὸν chiefly affects προ-.

6. ἀναλαβεῖν, to recover (intrans.):

cf. Plat. Rep. 467 B, ποιῆσαι καὶ τὴν ἄλλην πόλιν ἀδύνατον ἀναλαβεῖν.

7. οὕτω with μέχρι πόρρω, so far. —προήγαγον, carried it, i.e. the quarrel with Thebes.

8, 9. ψηφισμάτων, ἀποκρίσεων: as these documents were quoted to show the enmity between Thebes and Athens at the time of Philip's invasion, the ψηφίσματα were probably Athenian decrees enacting measures hostile to Thebes, and the replies were remonstrances or retaliatory measures on the part of Thebes. Nothing could be more absurd than the two decrees against Philip and the two letters of Philip which appear here in the text. See § 168<sup>2</sup>, where Philip is said to have been elated (ἐπαρθεῖς) by the decrees and the replies, i.e. by the evidence of hostility which they showed.

Ἀττικὴν παρασκευάζεται παραγίγνεσθαι, παρ' οὐδέν ἡγού- 5  
μενος τὰς ἡμετέρας συνθήκας, καὶ τοὺς ὄρκους λύειν ἐπι-  
βάλλεται καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην, παραβαίνων τὰς κοινὰς πίστεις,  
δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ πέμπειν πρὸς αὐτὸν πρέσβεις,  
οἵτινες αὐτῷ διαλέξονται καὶ παρακαλέσουσιν αὐτὸν μάλιστα 10  
μὲν τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὁμόνοιαν διατηρεῖν καὶ τὰς συνθήκας, εἰ δὲ  
μὴ, πρὸς τὸ βουλευέσασθαι δοῖναι χρόνον τῇ πόλει καὶ τὰς  
ἀνοχὰς ποιήσασθαι μέχρι τοῦ θαργηλιῶνος μηνός. ἡρέθησαν  
ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς Σίμος Ἀναγυράσιος, Εὐθύδημος Φυλάσιος,  
βουλαγόρας Ἀλωπεκῆθεν.]

## ΕΤΕΡΟΝ ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

[Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ἡροπίου, μηνὸς μουνυχιῶνος ἔτη καὶ 165  
νέα, πολεμάρχου γνώμη, ἐπειδὴ Φίλιππος εἰς ἀλλοτρίοτητα  
Θηβαίων πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐπιβάλλεται καταστῆσαι, παρεσκευάσται  
δὲ καὶ παντὶ τῷ στρατεύματι πρὸς τοὺς ἔγγιστα τῆς Ἀττικῆς  
283 παραγίγνεσθαι τόπους, παραβαίνων τὰς πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὑπαρ- 5  
χούσας αὐτῷ συνθήκας, δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ  
πέμψαι πρὸς αὐτὸν κήρυκα καὶ πρέσβεις, οἵτινες ἀξιώσουσι  
καὶ παρακαλέσουσιν αὐτὸν ποιήσασθαι τὰς ἀνοχὰς, ὅπως  
ἐνδεχομένως ὁ δῆμος βουλευέσθαι· καὶ γὰρ νῦν οὐ κέκρικε  
βοθεῖν ἐν οὐδενὶ τῶν μετρίων. ἡρέθησαν ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς 10  
Νέαρχος Σωσινόμου, Πολυκράτης Ἐπίφρονος, καὶ κήρυξ  
Εὐνομος Ἀναφλύστιος ἐκ τοῦ δήμου.]

Λέγε δὴ καὶ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις.

166

## ΑΠΟΚΡΙΣΙΣ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΙΣ.

[Βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων Φίλιππος Ἀθηναίων τῇ βουλῇ καὶ  
τῷ δήμῳ χαίρειν. ἦν μὲν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς εἴχετε πρὸς ἡμᾶς αἵρεσιν,  
οὐκ ἀγνοῶ, καὶ τίνα σπουδὴν ποιείσθε προσκαλέσασθαι βου- 5  
λόμενοι Θετταλοὺς καὶ Θηβαίους, ἔτι δὲ καὶ Βοιωτοὺς· βέλτιον  
δ' αὐτῶν φρονούντων καὶ μὴ βουλομένων ἐφ' ὑμῖν ποιήσασθαι  
τὴν ἑαυτῶν αἵρεσιν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸ συμφέρον ἱσταμένων, νῦν  
ἐξ ὑποστροφῆς ἀποστείλαντες ὑμεῖς πρὸς με πρέσβεις καὶ

κήρυκα συνθηκῶν μνημονεύετε καὶ τὰς ἀνοχὰς αἰτεῖσθε, κατ' 10  
οὐδὲν ὑφ' ἡμῶν πεπλημμελημένοι. ἐγὼ μέντοι ἀκούσας τῶν  
πρεσβυτῶν συγκατατίθεμαι τοῖς παρακαλουμένοις καὶ ἑτοιμός  
εἰμι ποιέσθαι τὰς ἀνοχὰς, ἂν περ τοὺς οὐκ ὀρθῶς συμβου-  
λεύοντας ὑμῖν παραπέμψαντες τῆς προσηκούσης ἀτιμίας ἀξιώ-  
σητε. ἔρρωσθε.] 15

## ΑΠΟΚΡΙΣΙΣ ΘΗΒΑΙΟΙΣ.

[Βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων Φίλιππος Θηβαίων τῇ βουλῇ καὶ 167  
τῷ δήμῳ χαίρειν. ἐκομισάμην τὴν παρ' ὑμῶν ἐπιστολὴν, δι'  
284 ἧς μοι τὴν ὁμόνοιαν ἀνανεοῦσθε καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ὄντως ἐμοὶ  
ποιεῖτε. πυνθάνομαι μέντοι διότι πᾶσαν ὑμῖν Ἀθηναῖοι  
προσφέρονται φιλοτιμίαν, βουλόμενοι ὑμᾶς συγκαταίνους 5  
γενέσθαι τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτῶν παρακαλουμένοις. πρότερον μὲν οὖν  
ὑμῶν κατεγίνωνσκον ἐπὶ τῷ μέλλειν πείθεσθαι ταῖς ἐκείνων  
ἐλπίσι καὶ ἐπακολουθεῖν αὐτῶν τῇ προαιρέσει. νῦν δ' ἐπι-  
γνοὺς ὑμᾶς τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐζητηκότας ἔχειν εἰρήνην μᾶλλον ἢ  
ταῖς ἐτέρων ἐπακολουθεῖν γνώμαις, ἥσθην καὶ μᾶλλον ὑμᾶς 10  
ἐπαινῶ κατὰ πολλὰ, μάλιστα δ' ἐπὶ τῷ βουλευσάσθαι περὶ  
τούτων ἀσφαλέστερον καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἔχειν ἐν εἰνοίᾳ· ὅπερ  
οὐ μικρὰν ὑμῖν οἴσειν ἐλπίζω ῥοπήν, εἴαν περ ἐπὶ ταύτης  
μένγητε τῆς προθέσεως. ἔρρωσθε.]

Οὕτω διαθεῖς ὁ Φίλιππος τὰς πόλεις πρὸς ἀλλή- 168  
λας διὰ τούτων, καὶ τούτοις ἐπαρθεῖς τοῖς ψηφίσμασι  
καὶ ταῖς ἀποκρίσεσιν, ἦκεν ἔχων τὴν δύναμιν καὶ τὴν  
Ἑλλάτειαν κατέλαβεν, ὥς οὐδ' ἂν εἴ τι γένοιτ' ἔτι

§ 168. 1. οὕτω: as the documents showed.

4. ὥς οὐδ' ἂν...*συμπνευσάντων ἂν*, i.e. *feeling* (ὥς) *that under no possible circumstances would the Thebans and ourselves become harmonious*: *συμπνευσάντων ἂν* represents *συμπνεύσαιμεν ἂν*. The MSS. all have *συμπνευσόντων ἂν*, which Bekker retains. The future participle with *ἂν*

is very rare and generally doubtful: but here it would represent the future optative with *ἂν*, for which there is no recognized authority. Moreover, the future of *πνέω* is not *πνεύσω*, but *πνεύσομαι* or *πνευσούμαι*, and this should be decisive (see Veitch). See M.T. 216; and for the repetition of *ἂν*, 223.

συνπνευσάντων ἂν ἡμῶν καὶ τῶν *Θαβαίων* ἀλλὰ 5  
μὴν τὸν τότε συμβάντ' ἐν τῇ πόλει θόρυβον ἴστε μὲν  
ἅπαντες· μικρὰ δ' ἀκούσαθ' ὅμως [αὐτὰ τὰ] ἀναγ-  
καϊότατα.

Ἐσπέρα μὲν γὰρ ἦν, ἦκε δ' ἀγγέλλων τις ὥς 169  
τοὺς πρυτάνεις ὥς Ἐλάτεια κατείληπται. καὶ μετὰ  
ταῦτα οἱ μὲν εὐθὺς ἐξαναστάντες μεταξὺ δειπνοῦντες,  
τούς τ' ἐκ τῶν σκηνῶν τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐξείργον·  
καὶ τὰ γέρρα ἐνέπιμπρασάν, οἱ δὲ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς 5

7. *μικρὰ ἀναγκαϊότατα* (so Σ and L<sup>1</sup>): see § 126<sup>4</sup> and note. Most MSS. give *αὐτὰ τὰ ἀναγκαϊότατα* here, perhaps correctly.

§§ 169—180. Here follows the famous description of the panic in Athens when the news of the seizure of Elatea arrived, and of the meeting of the Assembly which was suddenly called to consider the alarming situation. This is a celebrated example of *διατύπωσις*, *vivid delineation*.

§ 169. 1. The succession of tenses, ἦν, ἦκε (*had come*), and κατείληπται (the direct form for the indirect), makes the narrative lively and picturesque at the outset. Much would have been lost if he had said ἦλθε δ' ἀγγέλλων τις ὥς κατείλημμένη εἴη. — ὥς τοὺς πρυτάνεις: the message came to the Prytanes, the fifty senators of one of the ten tribes, who for their term of one-tenth of the year represented the authority of the state. Their office was the *θόλος* or *σκιὰς*, a round building with a cupola in the *ἀγορά*, adjoining the Senate-house and the *μητρώον* with its record-office. There the *ἐπιστάτης* of the Prytanes was expected to spend his whole day and night of office, with a third of the Prytanes whom he had selected (Arist. Pol. Ath. 44<sup>b</sup>), so as to be accessible in emergencies like the present; and there the state provided meals for all the Prytanes. The *θόλος* is distinct from the ancient

Prytaneum or City Hall, where certain privileged persons (*δελσῖται*) had their meals at a public table, to which ambassadors and other guests of the state were sometimes invited.

4. *τοὺς...σκηνῶν*: cf. § 44<sup>4</sup>.

5. *τὰ γέρρα*, probably the wicker-work with which the booths (*σκηναί*) in the market-place were covered. The word can mean also anything made of twigs, and is used of a wicker fence which enclosed the *ἐκκλησία* (see Harpocr. under *γέρρα*, and LIX. 90). But the close connection of the two clauses, *drove out those in the booths* and *burnt the γέρρα*, shows that the *γέρρα* which were burnt were taken from the booths. Otherwise there is no reason for driving the poor hucksters out at all. If it is said that this was done to prepare for the "monster meeting" the next morning, we must remember, first, that the Assembly was held in the Pnyx, not in the *ἀγορά*; and, secondly, that there was to be a meeting of the Senate before that of the Assembly, which would give time enough to make all necessary preparations after daybreak. To suppose, further, that the booths were torn to pieces and burnt on the spot after dark, merely to clear the *ἀγορά*, when there was no pressure of time, even if the needed clearing at all, is to impute to the Prytanes conduct well woi-

<sup>200d 7a</sup>  
 μετεπέμποντο, καὶ τὸν σαλπικτὴν ἐκάλουν· καὶ βο-  
 ρύβου πλήρης ἦν ἡ πόλις. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἅμα τῇ  
 ἡμέρᾳ οἱ μὲν πρυτάνεις τὴν βουλὴν ἐκάλουν εἰς τὸ  
 285 βουλευτήριον, ὑμεῖς δ' εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐπορεύεσθε,  
 καὶ πρὶν ἐκείνην χρηματίσαι καὶ προβουλευσαι πᾶς ἰο  
 ὁ δῆμος ἄνω καθήτο. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ὡς ἦλθεν ἡ 170  
 βουλὴ καὶ ἀπήγγειλαν οἱ πρυτάνεις τὰ προσηγγελ-

madmen. Such a panic as this senseless proceeding would have caused was surely the last object which these guardians of the state could have had, when they left their supper unfinished and hastened into the market-place. Their first object certainly was to secure a full meeting of the Assembly the next morning. It will be noticed that whilesome (οἱ μὲν) of the Prytanes were engaged in clearing the booths, others (οἱ δὲ) were summoning the ten Generals. The Generals and the Prytanes had the duty of calling special meetings of the Assembly (ἐκκλησίας συγκλήτους): see Thuc. IV. 118<sup>52</sup>, ἐκκλησίαν δὲ ποιήσαντας τοὺς στρατηγούς καὶ τοὺς πρυτάνεις, and II. 59<sup>11</sup> (of Pericles), σύλλογον ποιήσας (ἔτι δ' ἐστρατήγει). There can, therefore, be hardly a doubt that the two acts were connected with summoning the Assembly. To do this effectually it was necessary to alarm the whole of Attica immediately; and the natural method for this was to light bonfires on some of the hills near Athens, which would be a signal to distant demes to light fires on their own hills. A fire on Lycabettus could thus give signals directly and indirectly to the whole of Attica, and probably this was understood as a call of the citizens to a special Assembly. As material for lighting signal fires might not always be on hand, it is likely that the dry covering of the booths struck the eyes of the Prytanes as they came out of their office, and that they took

them in their haste for this purpose. Their high authority was needed to prevent resistance on the part of the owners of the booths.

6. **σαλπικτὴν**: to give signals with his trumpet.

7. **τὴν βουλὴν ἐκάλουν**: see Arist. Pol. Ath. 44<sup>7</sup>, ἐπειδὴν συναγάγωσιν οἱ πρυτάνεις τὴν βουλὴν ἢ τὸν δῆμον.

10. **χρηματίσαι καὶ προβουλευσαι**, *proceed to business and pass a vote* (προβούλευμα).

11. **ἄνω καθήτο**, i.e. the people in their impatience were already seated in the Pnyx: ἄνω shows that the Assembly sat on a hill, probably in the place now known as the Pnyx. See xxv. 9 and 20, τὸν δῆμον εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἀναβαίνειν. For the identity of this famous place, see Crow in Papers of the American School at Athens, IV. pp. 205—260.

§ 170. 1. **ὡς ἦλθεν ἡ βουλὴ**, i.e. when, after the adjournment of the Senate, the senators entered the Assembly.

2. **ἀπήγγειλαν οἱ πρυτάνεις**: the fifty Prytanes were still the chief men in both Senate and Assembly, though at this time (certainly since 377 B.C.) the duty of presiding in both bodies was given to nine *πρόεδροι*, who were chosen by lot each day from the senators of the other nine tribes by the *ἐπιστάτης* of the Prytanes (Arist. Pol. Ath. 44<sup>7-9</sup>). The *πρόεδροι* had an *ἐπιστάτης* of their own, called *ὁ ἐπιστάτης τῶν προέδρων* (Aesch. III. 39). This is the office held by Demosthenes in

μέν' ἑαυτοῖς καὶ τὸν ἥκοντα παρήγαγον καὶ κείνος  
 εἶπεν, ἡρώτα μὲν ὁ κῆρυξ τίς ἀγορεύειν βού-  
 λεται; παρρηεὶ δ' οὐδεὶς. πολλάκις δὲ τοῦ κήρυκος 5  
 ἐρωτῶντος οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἀνίστατ' οὐδεὶς, ἀπάντων  
 μὲν τῶν στρατηγῶν παρόντων, ἀπάντων δὲ τῶν  
 ῥητόρων, καλούσης δὲ τῇ κοινῇ τῆς πατρίδος φωνῇ  
 τὸν ἐροῦνθ' ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας· ἦν γὰρ ὁ κῆρυξ κατὰ  
 τοὺς νόμους φωνὴν ἀφήσει, ταύτην κοινὴν τῆς πατρί- 10  
 δος δίκαιόν ἐστιν ἡγεῖσθαι. καίτοι εἰ μὲν τοὺς 171  
 σωθῆναι τὴν πόλιν βουλομένους παρελθεῖν ἔδει,  
 πάντες ἂν ὑμεῖς καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἀθηναῖοι ἀναστάντες  
 ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμ' ἐβαδίζετε· πάντες γὰρ οἶδ' ὅτι σωθῆναι  
 αὐτὴν ἐβούλεσθε· εἰ δὲ τοὺς πλουσιωτάτους, οἱ 5  
 τριακόσιοι· εἰ δὲ τοὺς ἀμφοτέρα ταῦτα, καὶ εὐνοὺς  
 τῇ πόλει καὶ πλουσίους, οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα τὰς μεγάλας  
 ἐπιδόσεις ἐπιδόντες· καὶ γὰρ εὐνοία καὶ πλοῦτος  
 τοῦτ' ἐποίησαν. ἀλλ' ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐκείνος ὁ καιρὸς 172  
 καὶ ἡ ἡμέρα κείνη οὐ μόνον εὐνοὺν καὶ πλούσιον  
 ἄνδρ' ἐκάλει, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρηκολουθηκότα τοῖς πράγ-  
 μασιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς, καὶ συλλελογισμένον ὀρθῶς τίνος  
 ἔνεκα ταῦτ' ἔπραττεν ὁ Φίλιππος καὶ τί βουλόμενος· 5  
 ὁ γὰρ μὴ ταῦτ' εἰδὼς μηδ' ἐξητακῶς, πόρρωθεν ἐπι-  
 μελῶς, οὐτ' εἰ εὐνοὺς ἦν οὐτ' εἰ πλούσιος, οὐδὲν

the last meeting of the Assembly before the departure of the second embassy in 346: see Aesch. III. 74.

3. τὸν ἥκοντα, the messenger who had brought the news about Elatea: cf. § 28<sup>b</sup>.

4. τίς ἀγορεύειν βούλειται; the regular formula for opening a debate: cf. § 191<sup>2</sup>. Aeschines (III. 2 and 4) laments the omission of the additional words, τῶν ὑπὲρ πεντήκοντα ἔτη γεγονότων καὶ πάλιν ἐν μέρει τῶν ἄλλων Ἀθηναίων, the Solonic form.

9. τὸν ἐροῦνθ' = ὅς ἐρεῖ, the man to speak (M.T. 565): cf. § 285<sup>2</sup>.

§ 171. 5. οἱ τριακόσιοι, the Three Hundred: see note on § 103<sup>4</sup>.

6. ἀμφοτέρα ταῦτα: see note on § 139<sup>12</sup>.

7. τὰς μεγάλας ἐπιδόσεις, the large contributions, made after the battle of Chaeronea (Hist. § 67): μετὰ ταῦτα refers to the events which ended in that battle.

§ 172. 3. παρηκολουθηκότα, one who had followed the track of events.

μᾶλλον ἤμελλεν ὃ τι χρή ποιεῖν εἴσεσθαι οὐδ' ὑμῖν  
 ἔξειν συμβουλευεῖν. ἐφάνην τοῖνυν οὗτος ἐν ἐκείνῃ 173  
 τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐγὼ, καὶ παρελθὼν εἶπον εἰς ὑμᾶς, ἃ μου  
 286 δυοῖν ἔνεκ' ἀκούσατε προσσχόντες τὸν νοῦν, ἐνὸς μὲν,  
 ἵν' εἰδῇτε ὅτι μόνος τῶν λεγόντων καὶ πολιτευομένων  
 ἐγὼ τὴν τῆς εὐνοίας τάξιν ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς οὐκ ἔλιπον, 5  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ λέγων καὶ γράφων ἐξηταζόμεν τὰ δέονθ'  
 ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς φοβεροῖς, ἐτέρου δὲ, ὅτι  
 μικρὸν ἀναλώσαντες χρόνον πολλῶ πρὸς τὰ λοιπὰ  
 τῆς πάσης πολιτείας ἔσεσθ' ἐμπειρότεροι.

Εἶπον τοῖνυν ὅτι

174

“Τοὺς μὲν ὡς ὑπαρχόντων Θηβαίων Φιλίππου  
 λίαν θορυβουμένους ἀγνοεῖν τὰ παρόντα πράγμαθ'  
 ἡγοῦμαι· εὐ γὰρ οἶδ' ὅτι, εἰ τοῦθ' οὕτως ἐτύγχανεν  
 ἔχον, οὐκ ἂν αὐτὸν ἡκούομεν ἐν Ἐλατεῖᾳ ὄντα, ἀλλ' 5  
 ἐπὶ τοῖς ἡμετέροις ὁρίοις. ὅτι μέντοι ἵν' ἔτοιμα

See XIX. 257 (end), and Ev. Luc. i. 3 παρηκολούθηκόντι ἀνωθεν πᾶσιν ἀκριβῶς.

8. οὐδὲν...εἴσεσθαι, i.e. *was none the more likely to know*. The best mss. have ἤμελλεν here and in § 192<sup>4</sup>, and ἔμελλον in § 101<sup>6</sup>.

§ 173. 1. οὗτος (pred.), *that man*, whom δ. καιρὸς...ἐκάλεi (§ 172<sup>1</sup>): cf. § 282<sup>17</sup>, οὗτος εὐρέθης.

2. ἄ...ἀκούσατε: relative as obj. of imperative, as we say *which do at your peril*. For this in οἷσθ' δ. δρᾶσον; and similar expressions, see M.T. 253.

3. προσσχόντες τὸν νοῦν, *attentively*, cf. *animus advertere*.

5. τὴν...ἔλιπον, *I did not desert my post of devotion to the state*, i.e. *I was never guilty of λιποταξία* here. This military figure was a favourite of Demosthenes. See III. 36, μὴ παραχωρεῖν τῆς τάξεως ἣν ὑμῖν οἱ πρόγονοι τῆς ἀρετῆς...κατέλιπον; XV. 32, 33 (with the figure often repeated); XIX. 9, 29; XXI. 120, λελοιπέναι τὴν τοῦ

δικαίου τάξιν. The same figure is seen in ἐξηταζόμεν (I. 6), in ἐξήτασαι (§ 197<sup>11</sup>), ἐξητάζετο (§ 217<sup>1</sup>), ἐξεταζομένην ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν (§ 277<sup>7</sup>), and in ἐξέτασις, *a mustering* (as of troops), *a call for* (§§ 310<sup>1</sup>, 320<sup>11</sup>). Here there is always an idea of being *counted in* on one side or the other of some contest.—εὐνοίας: see note on § 1<sup>2</sup>.

6. λέγων...ἐξηταζόμεν (see last note), *I was found ready* (at my post), when the test came, *speaking and proposing measures*.

8. πολλῶ...ἐμπειρότεροι, *far more experienced for the future in the whole administration of the state* (πολιτείας).

§ 174. 1. εἶπον ὅτι: introducing a direct quotation (M.T. 711).

2. ὡς...Φιλίππου, *in the belief* (ὡς) *that Philip can depend on the Thebans*: cf. §§ 95<sup>6</sup>, 228<sup>8</sup>.

3. θορυβουμένους, *disturbed*: cf. θορύβου, § 169<sup>6</sup>.

6. ἵν'...ποιήσεται, i.e. *to prepare Thebes for his appearance there as a*

ποιήσεται τὰ ἐν Θήβαις ἥκει, σαφῶς ἐπίσταμαι. ὥς  
 δ' ἔχει" ἔφην "ταῦτα, ἀκούσατέ μου. ἐκείνος ὅσους 175  
 ἢ πείσαι χρήμασι, Θηβαίων ἢ ἐξαπατήσαι ἐνῆν,  
 ἅπαντας εὐτρέπεται· τοὺς δ' ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἀνθεστηκό-  
 τας αὐτῷ καὶ νῦν ἐναντιουμένους οὐδαμῶς πείσαι  
 δύναται. τί οὖν βούλεται, καὶ τίνος εἵνεκα τὴν 5  
 Ἐλάτειαν κατείληφεν; πλησίον δύναμιν δείξας καὶ  
 παραστήσας τὰ ὄπλα τοὺς μὲν ἑαυτοῦ φίλους ἐπᾶραι  
 καὶ θρασείας ποιῆσαι, τοὺς δ' ἐναντιουμένους κατα-  
 πλῆξαι, ἵν' ἡ συγχωρήσωσι φοβηθέντες ἂ νῦν οὐκ  
 ἐθέλουσιν, ἢ βιασθῶσιν. εἰ μὲν τοίνυν προαιρησόμεθ' 176  
 ἡμεῖς" ἔφην "ἐν τῷ παρόντι, εἴ τι δύσκολον πέπρα-  
 κται Θηβαίοις πρὸς ἡμᾶς, τούτου μεμνήσθαι καὶ  
 ἀπιστεῖν αὐτοῖς ὥς ἐν τῇ τῶν ἐχθρῶν οὔσι μερίδι,  
 πρῶτον μὲν ἂν εὖξαιτο Φίλιππος ποιήσομεν, εἶτα 5  
 φοβοῦμαι μὴ, προσδεξαμένων τῶν νῦν ἀνθεστηκότων  
 287 αὐτῷ καὶ μᾶλλον γνώμη πάντων φιλιππισάντων, εἰς τὴν  
 Ἀττικὴν ἔλθωσιν ἀμφότεροι. ἂν μέντοι πεισθῇτ'  
 ἐμοὶ καὶ πρὸς τῷ σκοπεῖν ἀλλὰ μὴ φιλονεικεῖν περὶ

friend: cf. εὐτρέπεται (i.e. εὐτρεπεῖς πεπολεῖται), § 175<sup>4</sup>.

§ 175. 6. πλησίον δύναμιν δείξας, *by making a display of force in their neighbourhood*, Elatea being near enough to Thebes to make Philip's presence there alarming.

7. ἐπᾶραι (cf. ἐπαρθεῖς, § 168<sup>2</sup>), with ποιῆσαι and καταπλῆξαι, depends on βούλεται understood, this answering τί βούλεται; as the following ἵν'... βιασθῶσιν answers τίνος ἕνεκα;

§ 176. 1. εἰ μὲν...προαιρησόμεθ': this most vivid form of future supposition here expresses what the orator wishes to make especially prominent by way of warning and admonition, though it happens that this is not what he wishes or what actually occurs. It is an excellent case of Gildersleeve's

"minatory and monitory conditions" (see Trans. of Amer. Philol. Assoc. for 1876, p. 13, and M.T. 447, with footnote). On the other hand, ἂν μέντοι πεισθῇτ' ἐμοὶ (8) happens to express what he most desires and what actually occurs. Compare the antithesis of subjunctive and optative in §§ 147, 148, with notes.

2. δύσκολον, *unpleasant*, euphemistic: cf. § 189<sup>6</sup>.

4. ὥς ἐν...μερίδι, *looking at them (ὥς) in the light of enemies* (M.T. 864): cf. § 292<sup>5</sup> and III. 31, ἐν ὑπηρέτῳ...μέρει.

7. μᾶλλον γνώμη, *uno consensu*.

8. ἀμφότεροι, Thebans and Philip.

9. πρὸς τῷ σκοπεῖν...γένεσθαι, *devote yourselves to considering*: cf. VIII. 11, πρὸς τοῖς πράγμασι γίνεσθαι.

ὧν ἂν λέγω γένησθε, οἶμαι καὶ τὰ δέοντα λέγειν 10  
 δόξειν καὶ τὸν ἐφেষτηκότα κίνδυνον τῇ πόλει διαλύ-  
 σειν. τί οὖν φημί δεῖν; πρῶτον μὲν τὸν παρόντ' 177  
 ἐπανεῖναι φόβον, εἶτα μεταθέσθαι καὶ φοβείσθαι  
 πάντας ὑπὲρ Θηβαίων· πολὺ γὰρ τῶν δεινῶν εἰσιν  
 ἡμῶν ἐγγυτέρω, καὶ προτέροις αὐτοῖς ἐστὶν ὁ κίνδυνος·  
 ἔπειτ' ἐξελθόντας Ἐλευσινάδε τοὺς ἐν ἡλικίᾳ καὶ 5  
 τοὺς ἰππέας δεῖξαι πᾶσιν ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις  
 ὄντας, ἵνα τοῖς ἐν Θήβαις φρονοῦσι τὰ ὑμέτερ' ἐξ  
 ἴσου γένηται τὸ παρρησιάζεσθαι περὶ τῶν δικαίων,  
 ἰδοῦσιν ὅτι, ὥσπερ τοῖς πωλοῦσι Φιλίππῳ τὴν  
 πατρίδα πάρεσθ' ἡ βοηθήσουσα δύναμις ἐν Ἐλατεῖα, 10  
 οὕτω τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀγωνίζεσθαι βουλο-  
 μένοις ὑπάρχεθ' ὑμεῖς ἔτοιμοι καὶ βοηθήσεται ἂν τις  
 ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἦ. μετὰ ταῦτα χειροτονῆσαι κελεύω 178  
 δέκα πρέσβεις, καὶ ποιῆσαι τούτους κυρίους μετὰ  
 τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ τοῦ πότε δεῖ βαδίζειν ἐκείσε καὶ

11. δόξειν... διαλύσεν: sc. ἐμέ.—  
 τὸν... τῇ πόλει: for this order of words  
 see §§ 190<sup>2</sup>, 197<sup>8</sup>, 220<sup>8</sup>; and for the  
 common order §§ 179<sup>7</sup>, 188<sup>4</sup>.

§ 177. 2. μεταθέσθαι, *to turn  
 about*, explained by φοβείσθαι ὑπὲρ  
 Θηβαίων.

5. Ἐλευσινάδε, to the plain of  
 Eleusis, "but no further, lest a friendly  
 demonstration should pass for a men-  
 ace at Thebes" (Simcox). See note on  
 § 178<sup>8</sup>. This was a convenient place  
 for the army to encamp, and they  
 would be within an easy march of  
 Thebes. The mountain road to  
 Thebes by Phyle was more direct,  
 but rougher and with no good camp-  
 ing place.—τοὺς ἐν ἡλικίᾳ: this term  
 properly included all citizens between  
 18 and 60: see Arist. Pol. Ath. 42,  
 4—6 and 34—37. But those between  
 18 and 20 always remained at home  
 as *φρονοῖ*; while those between 50

and 60 were not regularly called into  
 service and served as *δαιτηταί*, or  
*public arbiters* (Arist. Pol. Ath. 53,  
 20—37). Here the 1000 ἰππεῖς are  
 excluded from οἱ ἐν ἡλικίᾳ. See also  
 Lycurg. 39: αἱ δ' ἐλπίδες τῆς σωτη-  
 ρίας τῷ δήμῳ ἐν τοῖς ὑπὲρ πεντήκοντα  
 ἔτη γεγονόσι καθεστῆκεσαν, i.e. when  
 the news of the defeat at Chaeronea  
 came, showing that those above fifty  
 were not in the battle.

7. ἔξ ἴσου, *on an equality* with  
 Philip's friends.

9. τοῖς πωλοῦσι, *to those who  
 would sell* (conative): M.T. 25.

12. ὑπάρχεθ' ἔτοιμοι, *you are  
 ready at hand*.

§ 178. 2. ποιῆσαι...στρατηγῶν,  
 i.e. to give the envoys (by decree)  
 concurrent authority with the board  
 of generals.

3. πότε...ἐκείσε; this question is  
 made a genitive with τοῦ. The sub-

τῆς ἐξόδου. ἐπειδὴν δ' ἔλθωσιν οἱ πρέσβεις εἰς  
 Θήβας, πῶς χρήσασθαι τῷ πράγματι παραινώ; 5  
 τούτῳ πάνυ μοι προσέχετε τὸν νοῦν. μὴ δεῖσθαι  
 Θηβαίων μηδὲν (αἰσχροὺς γὰρ ὁ καιρὸς), ἀλλ' ἐπαγ-  
 γελλεσθαι βοηθήσειν ἂν κελεύωσιν, ὡς ἐκείνων ὄντων  
 ἐν τοῖς ἐσχάτοις, ἡμῶν δ' ἄμεινον ἢ ἐκείνοι προορ-  
 μένων. ἵν' εἰάν μὲν δέξωνται ταῦτα καὶ πεισθῶσιν 10  
 288 ἡμῖν, καὶ ἂ βουλόμεθ' ὦμεν διφκημένοι καὶ μετὰ  
 προσχήματος ἀξίου τῆς πόλεως ταῦτα πράξωμεν, ἂν  
 δ' ἄρα μὴ συμβῇ κατατυχεῖν, ἐκείνοι μὲν αὐτοῖς

ject of *βαδίζειν* is *ὁμάς*, the Athenian army. The embassy probably departed for Thebes at once, so as to lose no time in securing the confidence of the Thebans; but the army could not march further than Eleusis until it was invited by Thebes to cross her frontier. This was done in due time (§ 215<sup>1</sup>), after negotiations at Thebes (§§ 211—214). To facilitate this movement when the summons should come, the people were asked to empower the embassy at Thebes, in concurrence with the generals at Eleusis, to order a march to Thebes at any moment, and to decide all questions about the *march itself* (τῆς ἐξόδου).

5. *χρήσασθαι τῷ πράγματι*, to manage the (diplomatic) business.

6. *τούτῳ...νοῦν*: this special call for close attention was made to excite the audience with the expectation of hearing just what the embassy was to ask of the Thebans, and to impress them the more by the unexpected answer *μὴ δεῖσθαι Θηβαίων μηδὲν*. It was indeed an unheard of thing for an embassy to be sent to a semi-hostile state in such an emergency, with no demands or even requests, but with an unconditional offer of military help whenever it might be

asked for. Aeschines does not fail to misrepresent this noble act of Demosthenes, and to criticise the course of the embassy: see III. 145, τὸ βουλευτήριον τὸ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν ἀρδὴν ἔλαθεν ὑφελόμενος, καὶ μετῆνεγκεν εἰς Θήβας εἰς τὴν Καδμείαν.

9. *ἐν τοῖς ἐσχάτοις*, in extremis. — *ἡμῶν...προορμμένων* (also with *ὡς*), on the ground that we foresee (the course of events) better than they (τὸ μέλλον is omitted with *Σ*): cf. τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι προορᾶν, Plat. Theæt. 166 A.

10. *ἵν'...ὦμεν διφκημένοι*, that we may (then) have accomplished what we wish: the perfect subjunctive here and in l. 15 (ἢ πεπραγμένον) is future-perfect in time, in contrast to the simple future of *πράξωμεν* and *ἐγκαλώσιν* (M.T. 103).

12. *προσχήματος, ground of action*: *πρόσχημα* is what appears on the outside, which may be either mere show or (as here) an honest exhibition of the truth. Cf. the double meaning of *πρόφασις*, *ground of action* or *pretext*, in § 225<sup>2</sup>. — *ἂν δ' ἄρα*, but if after all: cf. § 278<sup>0</sup>.

13. *κατατυχεῖν*, to succeed (= *επιτυχεῖν*, Hesych.), acc. to Blass is not elsewhere found in classic writers. — *αὐτοῖς ἐγκαλώσιν*, may have themselves to blame.

ἐγκαλῶσιν ἂν τι νῦν ἑξαμαρτάνωσιν, ἡμῖν δὲ μηδὲν  
αἰσχρὸν μηδὲ ταπεινὸν ἢ πεπραγμένον." 15

Ταῦτα καὶ παραπλήσια τούτοις εἰπὼν κατέβην. 179  
συνεπαινεσάντων δὲ πάντων καὶ οὐδενὸς εἰπόντος  
ἐναντίον οὐδέν, οὐκ εἶπον μὲν ταῦτα οὐκ ἔγραψα δὲ,  
οὐδ' ἔγραψα μὲν οὐκ ἐπρέσβευσα δὲ, οὐδ' ἐπρέσβευσα  
μὲν οὐκ ἔπεισα δὲ Θηβαίους, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς 5  
ἄχρι τῆς τελευτῆς διεξῆλθον, καὶ ἔδωκ' ἑμαυτὸν ὑμῖν  
ἀπλῶς εἰς τοὺς περιεστηκότας τῇ πόλει κινδύνους.  
καὶ μοι φέρε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸ τότε γενόμενον.

Καίτοι τίνα βούλει σέ, Αἰσχίνη, καὶ τίνα ἑμαυτὸν 180 } 2  
ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν εἶναι θῶ; βούλει ἑμαυτὸν μὲν, ὃν  
ἂν σὺ λοιδορούμενος καὶ διασύρων καλέσαις, Βάτ-

§ 179. 1. καὶ παραπλήσια: we have here only a single passage of what must have been one of the most eloquent speeches of Demosthenes.

3—5. οὐκ εἶπον μὲν...Θηβαίους: a most famous example of *climax* (*κλίμαξ*, *ladder*), in which the antitheses of *μὲν* and *δέ* give a wonderful effect. Each of the three leading negatives (*οὐκ*, *οὐδ'*, *οὐδ'*) introduces a pair of clauses of which the second is negative, and which as a whole it negatives. Thus the first *οὐκ* negatives the compound idea, *I spoke, but proposed no measures*; then the positive conclusion thus attained, *I did propose measures*, is taken as an assumption in the next step. Without the help of *μὲν* and *δέ* the mixture of negatives would have made hopeless confusion. Quintilian (ix. 3, 55) thus translates the passage, skilfully using *quidem* for *μὲν* and *sed* for *δέ*: *non enim dixi quidem sed non scripsi, nec scripsi quidem sed non obii legationem, nec obii quidem sed non persuasi Thebanis*.

7. ἀπλῶς, without reserve, abso-

*Intely.*—τοὺς...κινδύνους: for the order see note on § 176<sup>11</sup>.

8. τὸ ψήφισμα...γενόμενον: cf. Aesch. iii. 25, πρὶν ἢ τὸν Ἡγήμονος νόμον γενέσθαι, and ii. 160, ποῖον (νόμον) γενέσθαι κωλύσας.

§ 180. While the clerk is preparing to read the decree, the orator amuses the audience by a few jokes at his opponent's expense.

1. καίτοι, and now: cf. § 123<sup>1</sup>.—τίνα βούλει...εἶναι θῶ; *whom will you that I shall suppose you, and whom myself, to have been on that day?* εἶναι is imperfect infinitive (= ἦσθα) with θῶ, which in this sense takes the infinitive of indirect discourse: cf. Aesch. iii. 163, βούλει σε θῶ φοβηθῆναι; See M.T. 287, 288, with the discussion of Plat. Rep. 372 E.

2. βούλει ἑμαυτὸν: sc. θῶ εἶναι;—ὃν ἂν...καλέσαις, i.e. as you would call me, etc.

3. Βάταλον: this nickname of Demosthenes, which the orator said was given him by his nurse (Aesch. i. 126), probably referred to his lean and sickly look in childhood and youth. See Plut. Dem. 4.

ταλον, σὲ δὲ μὴδ' ἦρω τὸν τυχόντα, ἀλλὰ τούτων  
 τινὰ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς σκηνῆς, Κρεσφόντην ἢ Κρέοντα ἢ 5  
 ὃν ἐν Κολλυτῷ ποτ' Οἰνόμαον κακῶς ἐπέτριψας;  
 τότε τοίνυν κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν καιρὸν ὁ Παιανιεὺς ἐγὼ  
 Βάτταλος Οἰνομάου τοῦ Κοθωκίδου σοῦ πλείονος  
 ἄξιος ὦν ἐφάνην τῇ πατρίδι. σὺ μὲν γε οὐδὲν  
 οὐδαμοῦ χρήσιμος ἦσθα· ἐγὼ δὲ πάνθ' ὅσα προσῆκε 10  
 τὸν ἀγαθὸν πολίτην ἔπραττον. λέγε τὸ ψήφισμά  
 μοι.

### ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΟΥΣ.

[Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ναυσικλέους, φυλῆς, πρυτανεύουσης Αἰαν- 181  
 τίδος, σκιροφοριῶνος ἕκτη ἐπὶ δέκα, Δημοσθένους Δημοσθένους

4. *μηδ' ἦρω τὸν τυχόντα*, not even a hero of the common kind: see note on ὦν ἐτυχεν, § 130<sup>2</sup>.—*ἀλλὰ...σκη- νῆς*, but one of those (great) heroes of the stage.

5. *Κρεσφόντην*, in the Cresphontes of Euripides, in which Merope has the chief part: cf. Arist. Eth. III. 1, 17.—*Κρέοντα*: Aeschines played Creon in the Antigone of Sophocles as *τριταγωνιστής*: see XIX. 247, ἐν ἅπασιν τοῖς δράμασι τοῖς τραγικοῖς ἐξαίρετόν ἐστιν ὥσπερ γέρας τοῖς τριταγωνισταῖς τὸ τοὺς τυράννους καὶ τοὺς τὰ σκῆπτρα ἔχοντας εἰσιέναι.

6. *Οἰνόμαον*: i.e. this part in the Oenomaus of Sophocles, which represented the chariot-race of Pelops and Oenomaus, by which Pelops won the hand of Hippodameia. This was the subject of one of the pediment-groups of the temple of Zeus at Olympia.—*κακῶς ἐπέτριψας*, you wretchedly murdered (as we say of a bad actor). The anonymous Life of Aeschines (7) gives a story that Aeschines fell on the stage in acting this part. As Oenomaus was finally killed, there is probably a double meaning in *κακῶς ἐπέτριψας*.—ἐν *Κολλυτῷ* is an additional slur on the

tragic performance of Aeschines. See Aesch. 1. 157, πρώην ἐν τοῖς κατ' ἀγροῦς Διονυσίοις κωμωδῶν ὄντων ἐν Κολλυτῷ. See ἀρουραῖος Οἰνόμαος, § 242<sup>5</sup>.

7. *τότε* refers to time generally: *κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν καιρὸν* to a critical moment.

8. *Οἰνομάου τοῦ Κοθωκίδου*: Aeschines was of the deme Κοθωκίδα.

§§ 181—187 contain the spurious "decree of Demosthenes." Its date, the 16th of Scirophorion (June or July), once brought hopeless confusion into the chronology of the campaign before Chaeroneia. See Clinton, Fast. Hellen. II, under 338 B.C. The real decree was passed in the autumn or early winter of 339—338 B.C., the year of the Archon Lysimachides. The style of the document is a ridiculous parody of that of Demosthenes (see § 182). Lord Brougham's remarks on this document, written of course in full faith in its genuineness, are now interesting. He says (p. 181): "The style of this piece is full of dignity, and the diction perfectly simple as well as chaste, with the solemnity of a state paper, but without the wordiness or technicality."

39 Παιμανεύς εἶπεν, ἐπειδὴ Φίλιππος ὁ Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς ἔν  
 τε τῷ παρεληλυθότι χρόνῳ παραβαίων φαίνεται τὰς γεγενη-  
 μένας αὐτῷ συνθήκας πρὸς τὸν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον περὶ τῆς 5  
 εἰρήνης, ὑπερδὼν τοὺς ὅρκους καὶ τὰ παρὰ πᾶσι τοῖς Ἑλλήσι  
 νομιζόμενα εἶναι δίκαια, καὶ πόλεις παραιρεῖται οὐδὲν αὐτῷ  
 προσηκούσας, τινὰς δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναίων οὔσας δοριαλώτους  
 πεποιήκεν οὐδὲν προαδικηθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων,  
 ἔν τε τῷ παρόντι ἐπὶ πολὺ προάγει τῇ τε βίᾳ καὶ τῇ ὡμότητι· 10  
 καὶ γὰρ Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις αἷς μὲν ἐμφρούρους ποιεῖ καὶ τὰς 182  
 πολιτείας καταλύει, τινὰς δὲ καὶ ἐξανδραποδιζόμενος κατα-  
 σκάπτει, εἰς ἐνίας δὲ καὶ ἀντὶ Ἑλλήνων βαρβάρους κατοι-  
 κίζει ἐπὶ τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ τοὺς τάφους ἐπάγων, οὐδὲν ἀλλότριον  
 ποιῶν οὔτε τῆς ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδος οὔτε τοῦ τρόπου, καὶ τῇ 5  
 νῦν αὐτῷ παρούσῃ τύχῃ κατακόρως χρώμενος, ἐπιλελησμένους  
 ἑαυτοῦ ὅτι ἐκ μικροῦ καὶ τοῦ τυχόντος γέγονεν ἀνεπίστως  
 μέγας. καὶ ἔως μὲν πόλεις ἑώρα παραιρούμενον αὐτὸν βαρ- 183  
 βάρους καὶ ἰδίας, ὑπελάμβανεν ἔλαττον εἶναι ὁ δῆμος ὁ  
 Ἀθηναίων τὸ εἰς αὐτὸν πλημμελεῖσθαι· νῦν δὲ ὁρῶν Ἑλληνί-  
 δας πόλεις τὰς μὲν ὑβριζόμενας, τὰς δὲ ἀναστάτους γιγνομένας,  
 δεινὸν ἡγείται εἶναι καὶ ἀνάξιον τῆς τῶν προγόνων δόξης τὸ 5  
 περιορᾶν τοὺς Ἑλλήνας καταδουλουμένους. διὸ δεδόχθαι τῇ 184  
 βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων, εὐξαμένους καὶ θύσαντας  
 τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ ἥρωσι τοῖς κατέχουσι τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν  
 τὴν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ ἐνθυμηθέντας τῆς τῶν προγόνων ἀρετῆς,  
 90 διότι περὶ πλείονος ἐποιούντο τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίαν 5  
 διατηρεῖν ἢ τὴν ἰδίαν πατρίδα, διακοσίας ναῦς καθέλκειν εἰς  
 τὴν θάλατταν καὶ τὸν ναύαρχον ἀναπλεῖν ἐντὸς Πυλῶν, καὶ  
 τὸν στρατηγὸν καὶ τὸν ἱππάρχον τὰς πεζὰς καὶ τὰς ἱππικὰς  
 δυνάμεις Ἐλευσὶνᾶδε ἐξάγειν, πέμψαι δὲ καὶ πρέσβεις πρὸς  
 τοὺς ἄλλους Ἑλλήνας, πρῶτον δὲ πάντων πρὸς Θηβαίους διὰ 10  
 τὸ ἐγγυτάτω εἶναι τὸν Φίλιππον τῆς ἐκείνων χώρας, παρακα- 185  
 λεῖν δὲ αὐτοὺς μηδὲν καταπλαγέντας τὸν Φίλιππον ἀντέχεσθαι  
 τῆς ἑαυτῶν καὶ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας, καὶ ὅτι ὁ  
 Ἀθηναίων δῆμος, οὐδὲν μνησικακῶν εἰ τι πρότερον γέγονεν  
 ἀλλότριον ταῖς πόλεσι πρὸς ἀλλήλας, βοηθήσει καὶ δυνάμει 5

καὶ χρήμασι καὶ βέλεσι καὶ ὄπλοις, εἰδὼς ὅτι αὐτοῖς μὲν πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαμειβιζομένην περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας οὖσιν Ἑλλήσι καλὸν, ὑπὸ δὲ ἀλλοφύλου ἀνθρώπου ἀρχεσθαι καὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀποστερεῖσθαι ἀνάξιον εἶναι καὶ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων δόξης καὶ τῆς τῶν προγόνων ἀρετῆς. ἔτι δὲ οὐδὲ ἀλλότριον 186 ἡγεῖται εἶναι ὁ Ἀθηναίων δῆμος τὸν Θηβαίων δῆμον οὔτε τῇ συγγενείᾳ οὔτε τῷ ὁμοφύλῳ. ἀναμνησκέται δὲ καὶ τὰς τῶν προγόνων τῶν ἑαυτοῦ εἰς τοὺς Θηβαίων προγόνους εὐεργεσίας· καὶ γὰρ τοὺς Ἡρακλέους παῖδας ἀποστερουμένους 5 ὑπὸ Πελοποννησίων τῆς πατρῴας ἀρχῆς κατήγαγον, τοῖς ὄπλοις κρατήσαντες τοὺς ἀντιβαίνειν πειρωμένους τοῖς Ἡρακλέους ἐκγόνοις, καὶ τὸν Οἰδίπουν καὶ τοὺς μετ' ἐκείνου ἐκπесόντας ὑπεδεξάμεθα, καὶ ἕτερα πολλὰ ἡμῖν ὑπάρχει 291 φιλόφθωπα καὶ ἔνδοξα πρὸς Θηβαίους· διόπερ οὐδὲ νῦν 187 ἀποστήσεται ὁ Ἀθηναίων δῆμος τῶν Θηβαίους τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἑλλήσι συμφερόντων. συνθέσθαι δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς συμμαχίαν καὶ ἐπιγαμίαν ποιήσασθαι καὶ ὄρκους δοῦναι καὶ λαβεῖν. πρέσβεις Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παιανιεὺς, 5 Ὑπερείδης Κλεάνδρου Σφήττιος, Μνησιθείδης Ἀντιφάνους Φρεάρριος, Δημοκράτης Σωφίλου Φλυεὺς, Κάλλαισχος Διοτίμου Κοθωκίδης.]

Αὕτη τῶν περὶ Θήβας ἐγίγνετο πραγμάτων ἀρχὴ 188 καὶ κατάστασις πρώτη, τὰ πρὸ τούτων εἰς ἔχθραν καὶ μῖσος καὶ ἀπιστίαν τῶν πόλεων ὑπηγμένων ὑπὸ τούτων. τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν τότε τῇ πόλει περιστάντα κίνδυνον παρελθεῖν ἐποίησεν ὥσπερ 5

§ 188. 1. αὕτη...πρώτη, *this was the first step taken and the first settlement effected in our relations with Thebes*: ἐγίγνετο refers to the progress of the business in coming to a settlement. See Weil's note: "κατάστασις est ici le contraire de ταραχή." Cf. xx. 11, ἐπειδὴ δ' ἡ πόλις εἰς ἐν ἤλθῃ καὶ τὰ πράγματ' ἐκείνα κατέστη (after the rule of the Thirty), and Ar. Ran.

1003, ἥνικ' ἂν τὸ πνεῦμα λείον καὶ καθεστῆκός λάβῃ.

5. παρελθεῖν ὥσπερ νέφος, *to pass by like a cloud, or to vanish like a passing cloud*. The simplicity of this simile was much admired by the Greek rhetoricians, who quote it nine times (see Spengel's index). See Longinus on the Sublime, 39, 4: ὑψηλὸν γε τοῦτο δοκεῖ νόημα, καὶ ἔστι τῷ ὄντι

νέφος. ἦν μὲν τοίνυν τοῦ δικαίου πολίτου τότε δεῖξαι πᾶσιν, εἴ τι τούτων εἶχεν ἄμεινον, μὴ νῦν ἐπιτιμᾶν. ὁ γὰρ σύμβουλος καὶ ὁ συκοφάντης, οὐδὲ 189 τῶν ἄλλων οὐδὲν εἰκότες, ἐν τούτῳ πλείστον ἀλλήλων διαφέρουσιν· ὁ μὲν γὰρ πρὸ τῶν πραγμάτων γνώμην ἀποφαίνεται, καὶ δίδωσιν ἑαυτὸν ὑπεύθυνον τοῖς πεισθείσι, τῇ τύχῃ, τῷ καιρῷ, τῷ βουλομένῳ· ὁ 5 δὲ σιγήσας ἡνίκ' ἔδει λέγειν, ἂν τι δύσκολον συμβῇ, τοῦτο βασκαίνει. ἦν μὲν οὖν, ὅπερ εἶπον, ἐκείνος ὁ 190 καιρὸς τοῦ γὰρ φροντίζοντος ἀνδρὸς τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῶν δικαίων λόγων· ἐγὼ δὲ τοσαύτην ὑπερβολὴν ποιοῦμαι ὥστε, ἂν νῦν ἔχη τις δεῖξαι τι βέλτιον, ἢ ὅλως εἴ τι ἀλλ' ἐνῆν πλην ὧν ἐγὼ προειλόμην, 5 ἀδικεῖν ὁμολογῶ. εἰ γὰρ ἔσθ' ὃ τι τις νῦν ἑώρακεν,

ινύμειον, ὃ τῷ ψήφισματι ὁ Δημοσθέ-  
ς ἐπιφέρει... ἀλλ' αὐτῆς τῆς διαβολῆς  
ἐκ ἑλαττοῦ τῇ ἀρμονίᾳ πεφώνηται.  
e then discourses on the fatal effect  
which would result from a change in  
the order of the words, or from the  
omission or addition of a single syl-  
lable (as ὡς νέφος or ὥσπερ εἰ νέφος).

7. τούτων, i.e. than my measures.

In the last sentence of § 188, the  
orator suddenly breaks off his narra-  
tive, and digresses into a most elo-  
quent defence of the policy of Athens  
in resisting Philip, and of his own  
conduct as her responsible leader.  
See note before §§ 160—226.

§ 189. 1. σύμβουλος, statesman.  
—συκοφάντης: no modern word,  
east of all the English *sycophant*,  
gives the full meaning of this ex-  
pressive term, though the same com-  
bination of malicious informer, dirty  
pettifogger, common slanderer and  
jackbiter, is unhappily still to be  
seen. Cf. § 242<sup>2</sup>. The word must  
have referred originally to the petty  
form of prosecution for violation of  
the revenue laws known as φάσις, in

which half of the penalty went to the  
informer. See Ar. Eq. 300: καὶ σε  
φαίνω τοῖς πρυτάνεσιν ἀδεκατεῦντος  
τῶν θεῶν ἰσὰς ἔχοντα κοιλίας.

4. ὑπεύθυνον, responsible in the full  
Attic sense, e.g. liable to the εἶσθαι  
and to the γραφή παρανόμων.

6. δύσκολον: see note on § 176<sup>2</sup>.

7. βασκαίνει, reviles: Harpocr.  
ἀντὶ τοῦ αἰτιᾶται καὶ μέμψεται καὶ  
συκοφαντεῖ· Δημοσθ. ἐν τῷ ὑπὲρ Κτη-  
σιφώντος.

§ 190. 1. ὅπερ εἶπον: see the  
last sentence of § 188.

3. τῶν δικ. λόγων: with καιρὸς  
(West., Bl.), or (better) with φρον-  
τίζοντος.—τοσαύτην ὑπερβολὴν ποι-  
οῦμαι, i.e. I go so far beyond what  
could be asked of me.

5. ἐνῆν: used personally with τι  
ἄλλο: cf. ὅσα ἐνῆν, § 193<sup>4</sup>. So  
ἐνόντων (11): such participles are  
very often personal (M.T. 761).—  
ὧν ἐγὼ προειλόμην: cf. § 192<sup>5</sup>, τὴν  
προαίρεσίν μου τῆς πολιτείας.

6. ἀδικεῖν, in its so-called perfect  
sense (M.T. 27).

7. τότε πραχθὲν=εἰ τότε ἐπράχθη.

ὁ συνήνεγκεν ἂν τότε πραχθὲν, τοῦτ' ἐγὼ φημι δεῖν  
 ἐμὲ μὴ λαθεῖν. εἰ δὲ μήτ' ἔστι μήτ' ἦν μήτ' ἂν  
 292 εἰπεῖν ἔχοι μηδεὶς μηδέπω καὶ τήμερον, τί τὸν  
 σύμβουλον ἐχρῆν ποιεῖν; οὐ τῶν φαινομένων καὶ ἐνόντων  
 τὰ κράτιστα ἐλέσθαι; τοῦτο τοίνυν ἐποίησα, 15  
 τοῦ κήρυκος ἐρωτῶντος, Αἰσχίνη, τίς ἀγορεύειν  
 βούλεται; οὐ τίς αἰτιασθαι περὶ τῶν παρε-  
 ληλυθότων; οὐδὲ τίς ἐγγυᾶσθαι τὰ μέλλοντ'  
 ἔσεσθαι; σοῦ δ' ἀφώνου κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρό- 5  
 νους ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις καθημένου, ἐγὼ παριῶν  
 ἔλεγον. ἐπειδὴ δ' οὐ τότε, ἀλλὰ νῦν δείξου· εἰπέ  
 τίς ἢ λόγος, ὄντιν' ἐχρῆν εὐπορεῖν, ἢ καιρὸς συμ-  
 φέρων ὑπ' ἐμοῦ παρελείφθῃ τῇ πόλει; τίς δὲ συμ-  
 μαχία, τίς πρᾶξις, ἐφ' ἣν μᾶλλον ἔδει μ' ἀγαγεῖν 10  
 τουτουςί;

Ἀλλὰ μὲν τὸ μὲν παρεληλυθὸς αἰὲ παρὰ πᾶσιν 15  
 ἀφείται, καὶ οὐδεὶς περὶ τούτου προτιθήσιν οὐδαμῶς  
 βουλὴν· τὸ δὲ μέλλον ἢ τὸ παρὸν τὴν τοῦ συμβούλου  
 τάξιν ἀπαιτεῖ. τότε τοίνυν τὰ μὲν ἡμελλεν, ὥς

—τοῦτ'...δεῖν ἐμὲ μὴ λαθεῖν, *I say this ought not to have escaped me (at the time)*: δεῖν...λαθεῖν represents *ἔδει ἐμὲ μὴ λαθεῖν*.

8, 9. εἰ δὲ...τήμερον: for this compound protasis with a present, a past, and a potential optative united in one supposition, see M.T. 509: notice the three negatives and the emphatic καὶ in μήτ' ἂν...τήμερον. See § 141<sup>b</sup>.—μηδέπω καὶ τήμερον, *not yet, even at this day*.

10. τῶν φαινομένων καὶ ἐνόντων, *of the plans which offered themselves to us and were feasible*.

§ 191. 3. τίς...παρεληλυθότων; a question to be addressed to a συνοφάντης, not to a σύμβουλος.

7. οὐ τότε: sc. ἔδειξας.—ἀλλὰ νῦν (M.T. 513).

8. εὐπορεῖν (Σ, εὐρεῖν vulg.), *have been provided with*.

9. τῇ πόλει: often taken with συμφέρων; better with παρελείφθαι as in § 107<sup>11</sup>, ἀπώλετο τῇ πόλει.

10. μᾶλλον, *rather than to* own.

§ 192. 2. ἀφείται (gnomic), *dismissed from consideration*.

3. τὴν...τάξιν, i.e. *the statesman at his post*: τάξιν keeps up the military figure of § 173<sup>5,6</sup>.

4. τότε...παρῆν: application of the general principle to the case hand; τὰ μὲν ἡμελλεν referring to Chaeronea and its results, τὰ δ' παρῆν to Philip's presence at Elaeus. Though these are now past, they were then future and present.

ἐδόκει, τῶν δεινῶν, τὰ δ' ἤδη παρῆν, ἐν οἷς τὴν 5  
 προαίρεσίν μου σκόπει τῆς πολιτείας, μὴ τὰ συμ-  
 βάντα συκοφάντει. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πέρας ὡς ἂν ὁ  
 δαίμων βουληθῇ πάντων γίγνεται· ἡ δὲ προαίρεσις  
 αὐτῇ τὴν τοῦ συμβούλου διάνοιαν δηλοῖ. μὴ δὲ 193  
 τοῦθ' ὡς ἀδίκημ' ἐμὸν θῆς, εἰ κρατῆσαι συνέβη  
 Φιλίππῳ τῇ μάχῃ· ἐν γὰρ τῷ θεῷ τὸ τούτου τέλος  
 ἦν, οὐκ ἐμοί. ἀλλ' ὡς οὐχ ἅπαντα ὅσα ἐνῆν κατ'  
 ἀνθρώπινον λογισμόν εἰλόμην, καὶ δικαίως ταῦτα 5  
 καὶ ἐπιμελῶς ἔπραξα καὶ φιλοπόνως ὑπὲρ δύναμιν,  
 ἡ ὡς οὐ καλὰ καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἄξια πράγματα  
 ἐνεστησάμην καὶ ἀναγκαῖα, ταῦτά μοι δείξον, καὶ  
 τότε ἤδη κατηγορεῖ μου. εἰ δ' ὁ συμβὰς σκηπτὸς 194  
 [ἡ χειμῶν] μὴ μόνον ἡμῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντων τῶν  
 ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων μείζων γέγονε, τί χρὴ ποιεῖν;

5. τὴν... πολιτείας: see note on 90<sup>5</sup>. προαίρεσις implies the deliberate choice of a policy which a statesman should make: here and in τὰ συμβάντα συκοφάντει we have again a σύμβουλος and the συκοφάντης contrasted. For the precise meaning of προαίρεσις, see Arist. Eth. III. 2 especially § 17: ἀλλ' ἄρα γε τὸ προβουλευμένον (sc. τὸ προαιρετόν); γὰρ προαίρεσις μετὰ λόγου καὶ ἀνοίας. ὑποσημαίνειν δ' ἔοικε καὶ ὕψωμα ὡς ὃν πρὸ ἐτέρου αἰρετόν.  
 9. αὐτῇ (emphatic): the thought, purpose is the very thing which issues etc.

§ 193. 3. τῇ μάχῃ: Chaeronea. ἐν τῷ θεῷ... τέλος: cf. πέρας and αἶμων in § 192<sup>7, 8</sup>. See II. VII. 101, ὅτ' ἀρ' ὑπερβεν νίκης πείρατ' ἔχονται ἐν ἀνάτοισι θεοῖσιν.

10. φιλοπόνως ὑπὲρ δύναμιν, i.e. greater labour than my strength wanted: cf. §§ 160<sup>5</sup>, 218<sup>9</sup>.

11. ἐνεστησάμην, undertook (intended): cf. § 4<sup>11</sup>.—καὶ ἀναγκαῖα, & necessary too, added after the

verb for emphasis. Blass remarks that the orator has not yet attained the height from which he speaks in §§ 199 ff.

§ 194. 1. σκηπτὸς [ἡ χειμῶν]: most recent editors omit ἡ χειμῶν on the ground that the orator, after comparing the sudden raid of Philip to a thunderbolt, would not weaken his figure by adding a common storm. This holds good even when we admit that χειμῶν and σκηπτὸς are not the same thing. Aristotle (de Mundo, 4, 19), after describing κεραυνός, πρηστήρ, and τυφῶν, adds ἕκαστον δὲ τούτων κατασκήψαν εἰς τὴν γῆν σκηπτὸς ὀνομάζεται. σκηπτὸς, therefore, is not only a stroke of lightning, but also a furious thunderstorm; while χειμῶν is winter, a winterstorm, or a storm in general. Perhaps ἡ χειμῶν here was originally a marginal reference to χειμῶνι χρησάμενον (6).

3. τί χρὴ ποιεῖν (sc. ἡμᾶς), what ought we to do? The answer is given in the two following sentences. The sense is: "What are we to do? We

ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις ναύκληρον πάντ' ἐπὶ σο  
 πράξαντα, καὶ κατασκευάσαντα τὸ πλοῖον ἂ  
 ὑπελάμβανε σωθήσεσθαι, εἶτα χειμῶνι χρῆσι  
 καὶ πονησάντων αὐτῷ τῶν σκευῶν ἢ καὶ σ  
 βέντων ὅλως, τῆς ναυαγίας αἰτιῶτο. ἀλλ  
 ἐκυβέρνηων τὴν ναῦν, φήσειεν ἂν (ὥσπερ οὐδ'  
 τήγουν ἐγώ), οὔτε τῆς τύχης κύριος ἦν, ἀλλ'  
 τῶν πάντων. ἀλλ' ἐκείνο λογίζου καὶ ὄρα· εἰ  
 Θηβαίων ἡμῖν ἀγωνιζομένοις οὕτως εἵμαρτο π  
 τί χρῆν προσδοκᾶν εἰ μὴδὲ τούτους ἔσχομεν σ  
 χους ἀλλὰ Φιλίππῳ προσέθεντο, ὑπὲρ οὗ τότε' ε

are to do just what a ναύκληρος would do if any one were to blame him, etc. He would say 'I was not κυβερνήτης,' just as I can say 'No more was I στρατηγός.' The apodosis to εἰ τις... αἰτιῶτο being suppressed (except ἂν in 4), its subject ναύκληρος appears in the protasis as ναύκληρον, and the implied ὥσπερ ἂν ναύκληρος ποιήσειεν appears in φήσειεν ἂν (9) with its quotation, ἀλλ' οὐτ' ἐκυβέρνηων... τῶν πάντων. ἡμῶν (2) and ἐγώ (10) show that the orator identifies the people with himself in the comparison with ναύκληρος. Cf. § 243.

4. ναύκληρον, properly a *ship-owner*, who sails in his own ship (as ἑμπορος), but generally employs a κυβερνήτης or *sailing-master* to navigate the ship. In Plato's famous figure of the ship of State (Rep. vi. p. 488), the ναύκληρος is the honest old man Δῆμος Πικυλῆτης, who knows little of navigation, and is not skilful enough to keep a professional sailing-master in authority, and soon lets the command of the ship fall into the hands of the most artful and unscrupulous landmen on board.

6. χειμῶνι χρῆσάμενον: the ναύκληρος is said to have met with a storm.—πονησάντων σκευῶν, when

his *tackling* laboured (i.e. of a ship as *labouring* in sea).

§ 195. 3. τί χρῆν. this apodosis (like the si lines 7—9) has two p simply past, the other p condition unfulfilled. E conforms to the latter co we have in line 3 τί χρῆν (without ἂν), but in 7—9 δοκῆσαι χρῆν; the two s ing otherwise similar.

should not notice the diff same form (either with o were used in both. And tinction is one of princip erally obvious and impor form without ἂν the chief the infinitive, while in t ἂν it falls on ἔδει, ἐξην, which the ἂν belongs. T ἐλθεῖν (in this sense) is y gone (but did not go), v σοι ἐλθεῖν is it would ha ble for you to go in a cert in fact it was not possible may translate τί χρῆν what ought we to have ex we did not find ourselves and τί ἂν προσδοκῆσαι should we then have h

πάσας ἀφῆκε φωνάς; καὶ εἰ νῦν τριῶν ἡμερῶν ἀπὸ 5  
τῆς Ἀττικῆς ὁδὸν τῆς μάχης γενομένης τοσοῦτος  
κίνδυνος καὶ φόβος περιέστη τὴν πόλιν, τί ἂν, εἴ που  
τῆς χώρας ταυτὸ τοῦτο πάθος συνέβη, προσδοκῆσαι  
χρῆν; ἄρ' οἶσθ' ὅτι νῦν μὲν στήναι, συνελθεῖν,  
ἀναπνεῦσαι, πολλὰ μία ἡμέρα καὶ δύο καὶ τρεῖς 10  
ἔδοσαν τῶν εἰς σωτηρίαν τῇ πόλει; τότε δὲ—οὐκ  
ἄξιον εἰπεῖν ἃ γε μὴδὲ πείραν ἔδωκε θεῶν τινὸς  
εὐνοίᾳ καὶ τῷ προβάλλεσθαι τὴν πόλιν ταύτην τὴν  
συμμαχίαν ἧς σὺ κατηγορεῖς.

Ἔστι δὲ ταυτὶ πάντα μοι τὰ πολλὰ πρὸς ὑμᾶς, 196  
ἄνδρες δικασταί, καὶ τοὺς περιεστηκότας ἔξωθεν καὶ  
ἀκροωμένους, ἐπεὶ πρὸς γε τοῦτον τὸν κατάπτυστον  
βραχὺς καὶ σαφὴς ἐξήρκει λόγος. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἦν σοὶ

(which in fact we did not have to expect)? See M.T. App. v.

5. *πάσας ἀφῆκε φωνάς*, i.e. *used all his eloquence*: cf. Plat. Rep. 475 A, *πάσας φωνάς ἀφίετε*. See § 218<sup>b</sup>.—*τριῶν ἡμερῶν ὁδόν*, *three days' journey*, i.e. from Chaeronea (via Thebes) to the Attic frontier at Eleutherae, about 450 stadia. It was about 250 stadia from Eleutherae to Athens; and the whole distance from Chaeronea to Athens is given (§ 230<sup>2</sup>) as 700 stadia, about 80 miles. (See Blass.)

9. *νῦν* here and *τότε* in l. 11 refer only to opposite alternatives (*as it was*, and *in that case*), but to the same time. See § 200<sup>1</sup>. The *ἀποσιώπησις* after *τότε* δὲ is far more eloquent than any description.

10. *ἀναπνεῦσαι*: cf. Il. xi. 801, *ὀλίγη δὲ τ' ἀνάπνευσις πολέμοιο*.

12. *ἃ γε μὴδὲ πείραν ἔδωκε*, *which never gave us even a trial* (of their horrors): *ἐαυτῶν* is omitted, leaving *πείραν ἔδωκε* absolute. See note on § 107<sup>b</sup>. The negative is *μὴδὲ* because the antecedent of *ἃ* is indefinite (M.T. 518).

13. *τῷ προβάλλεσθαι... συμμαχίαν*, *by the state having this alliance to shield her* (lit. *holding it before herself*). Cf. § 97<sup>m</sup>. The present emphasizes the continued protection; *προβαλέσθαι* would mean *putting it before herself*: cf. § 300<sup>1</sup>, *ταῦτα προβαλόμεν πρὸ τῆς Ἀττικῆς*.

§ 196. 1. *ἔστι μοι πρὸς ὑμᾶς*, i.e. *I intend it for you*.—*ταυτὶ πάντα τὰ πολλὰ*, *all this long argument* (so West.): *τὰ πολλὰ* may, however, be adverbial, *for the most part, chiefly*, the sense being *all this I intend chiefly for you*.

2. *τοὺς περιεστηκότας*, *the spectators*, of whom great crowds were present: see Aesch. III. 56, *ἐναρτίον... τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν ὅσοι δὴ ἔξωθεν περιεστᾶσι*, καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὅσοις ἐπιμελὲς γέγονεν ἐπακοῦνεν τῆςδε τῆς κρίσεως· ὁρῶ δὲ οὐκ ὀλίγους παρόντας, ἀλλ' ὅσους αὐδεὶς πώποτε μέμνηται πρὸς ἀγῶνα δημόσιον παραγενομένους.

4. *βραχὺς καὶ σαφὴς λόγος*: this he now puts into a dilemma, *εἰ μὲν ἦν σοὶ πρόδηλα* and *εἰ δὲ μὴ προῆδεις*· *ἐξήρκει*, *was enough for him*; i.e.

πρόδηλα τὰ μέλλοντα, Αἰσχίνη, μόνῳ τῶν ἄλλων, 5  
 ὅτ' ἐβουλεύεθ' ἡ πόλις περὶ τούτων. τότε ἔδει προλέ-  
 γειν· εἰ δὲ μὴ προήδεις, τῆς αὐτῆς ἀγνοίας ὑπεύθυνος  
 εἰ τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὥστε τί μᾶλλον ἐμοῦ σὺ ταῦτα κατη-  
 294 γορεύεις ἢ ἐγὼ σοῦ; τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἀμείνων ἐγὼ σοῦ 197  
 πολίτης γέγον' εἰς αὐτὰ ταῦθ' ἃ λέγω (καὶ οὐπω  
 περὶ τῶν ἄλλων διαλέγομαι), ὅσον ἐγὼ μὲν ἔδωκ'  
 ἑμαυτὸν εἰς τὰ πᾶσι δοκοῦντα συμφέρειν, οὐδένα  
 κίνδυνον ὀκνήσας ἴδιον οὐδ' ὑπολογισάμενος, σὺ δ' 5  
 οὐθ' ἕτερ' εἶπες βελτίῳ τούτων (οὐ γὰρ ἂν τούτοις  
 ἐχρῶντο), οὐτ' εἰς ταῦτα χρήσιμον οὐδὲν σαυτὸν  
 παρέσχες, ὅπερ δ' ἂν ὁ φαυλότατος καὶ δυσμενέστα-  
 τος ἄνθρωπος τῇ πόλει, τοῦτο πεποικῶς ἐπὶ τοῖς  
 συμβάσιν ἐξήτασάι, καὶ ἅμ' Ἀρίστρατος ἐν Νάξῳ 10  
 καὶ Ἀριστόλεως ἐν Θάσῳ, οἱ καθάπαξ ἐχθροὶ τῆς  
 πόλεως, τοὺς Ἀθηναίων κρίνουσι φίλους καὶ Ἀθήνη-

this would be a sufficient reply for him. ἐξήκει sometimes has a force somewhat like that of δίκαιον ἦν, ἴσον ἦν, καλὸν ἦν, etc., when they are classed with εἶδει, χρῆν, etc. (M.T. 416). See Cic. Lael. XXVI, 96, satis erat respondere Magnas: Ingentes inquit, and Lane's Latin Grammar, 1496, 1497. Cf. θαυμαστὸν ἦν, § 248<sup>7</sup>.

8. ταῦτα: the charge of ignorance which you bring against me.

§ 197. 2. ταῦθ' ἃ λέγω, i.e. the events which preceded Chaeronea.

4. τὰ πᾶσι δοκοῦντα = ἃ πᾶσιν ἐδόκει, with reference to votes of the people: cf. 274<sup>6</sup>.

5. ἴδιον personal, e.g. the danger of a γράφῃ παρανόμων: cf. §§ 235<sup>11</sup>, 249.

6. οὐ...ἐχρῶντο: sc. εἰ ἕτερ' εἶπες βελτίῳ.

7. εἰς ταῦτα, in support of my measures.

8. ὅπερ δ' ἂν: sc. ποιήσειεν or ἐποίησεν. See § 291<sup>4</sup>.

9. τῇ πόλει: for the order see § 176<sup>11</sup>.—πεποικῶς...ἐξήτασαι, you are shown to have done after the events: cf. Hdt. I. 170, ἐπὶ διεφθαρμένοισι Ἴωσι, and § 284<sup>10</sup>.

10. Ἀρίστρατος, Ἀριστόλεως: these men and the condition of Naxos and Thasos at this time are known only from this passage. It appears that these islands were in the power of Alexander, and that his great successes in Asia were having the same effect in them as in Athens, encouraging the Macedonian party to vex their opponents by prosecutions.

11. καθάπαξ ἐχθροί, outright enemies.

12. καὶ Ἀθήνησιν...κατηγορεῖ: this brings out clearly the meaning of τοῦτο πεποικῶς (9).

σιν Αἰσχίνης Δημοσθένους κατηγορεῖ. καίτοι ὅτῳ 198  
τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀτυχήματ' ἐνευδοκιμεῖν ἀπέκειτο,  
ἀπολωλέναι μᾶλλον οὗτός ἐστι δίκαιος ἢ κατηγορεῖν  
έτέρου· καὶ ὅτῳ συνενηνόχασιν οἱ αὐτοὶ καιροὶ καὶ  
τοῖς τῆς πόλεως ἐχθροῖς, οὐκ ἐνι τούτου ἐὺνδυν εἶναι 5  
τῇ πατρίδι. δηλοῖς δὲ καὶ ἐξ ὧν ζῆς καὶ ποιεῖς καὶ  
πολιτεύει καὶ πάλιν οὐ πολιτεύει. πράττεται τι  
τῶν ὑμῖν δοκούντων συμφέρειν· ἄφῳνος Αἰσχίνης.  
ἀντέκρουσέ τι καὶ γέγονεν οἶον οὐκ ἔδει· πάρεστιν  
Αἰσχίνης. ὥσπερ τὰ ῥήγματα καὶ τὰ σπάσματα, 10  
ὅταν τι κακὸν τὸ σῶμα λάβῃ, τότε κινεῖται.

Ἐπειδὴ δὲ πολὺς τοῖς συμβεβηκόσιν ἔγκειται, 199  
βούλομαι τι καὶ παράδοξον εἰπεῖν. καὶ μου πρὸς

§ 198. 1. ὅτῳ...ἀπέκειτο, *who found matter for glorification in the calamities of the Greeks: ἀπέκειτο, were laid up (as material).*

2. ἐνευδοκιμεῖν occurs only here in classic Greek, acc. to Blass, who remarks on the ease with which such compounds with ἐν are made, to be used thus in the infinitive: see Thuc. II. 44, ἐνευδαιμονῆσαι and ἐντελευτῆσαι; II. 20, ἐνστρατοπεδεῦσαι; Hdt. II. 178, ἐνοικῆσαι; VI. 102, ἐνιππεῦσαι; Plat. Phaedr. 228 E, ἐμμελετᾶν.—Ἑλλήνων...ἀπέκειτο is a dactylic hexameter.

4. οἱ αὐτοὶ...ἐχθροῖς, i.e. *the same occasions in which also the enemies of the state have found their advantage.*

5. εὖνουν, *loyal*: see note on § 12.

6. ἐξ ὧν ζῆς, *by the life you live*: cf. ἀπ' αὐτῶν ὧν βεβιωκεν § 130<sup>1</sup>. ζῆν is the regular present to βεβιωκέναι, βεῖω not being in common use.

7—10. πράττεται...Αἰσχίνης and ἀντέκρουσε...Αἰσχίνης: two paratactic conditional expressions,—*suppose something is done*, etc. See § 274. Dissen quotes Cicero's imitation (Phil. II. 22, 55): Doletis tres exercitus populi Romani interfectos:

interfecit Antonius. Desideratis clarissimos cives: eos quoque nobis eripuit Antonius. Auctoritas huius ordinis afflicta est: afflixit Antonius.

10. ῥήγματα καὶ σπάσματα, *ruptures and strains*: ῥήγμα is a *rupture*, either of the flesh or of a vein; σπάσμα is properly the state of *tension* which may lead to a rupture, though the two terms seem sometimes to be used in nearly or quite the same sense. See Hippocrates, de Flatibus II (Littre VI. p. 109), of ruptures of the flesh; and de Morb. I. 20 (Litt. VI. p. 176), of the veins. See large edition.

§ 199. 1. πολὺς ἔγκειται, *is severe (presses hard) upon*: cf. Thuc. IV. 22, Hdt. VII. 158, and note on πολλῶ ῥέοντι in § 136<sup>1</sup> (above).

2. τι καὶ παράδοξον: the orator now rises to a new height. Heretofore he has maintained vigorously (as in § 194) that the policy of Athens in opposing Philip under his lead was sound and hopeful, and that he cannot justly be censured now, even if events have shown the "mistake" of waging war against the Macedonian power. He now suddenly changes his ground.

Διὸς καὶ θεῶν μηδεὶς τὴν ὑπερβολὴν θαυμάσῃ, ἀλλὰ  
μετ' εὐνοίας ὁ λέγω θεωρησάτω. εἰ γὰρ ἦν ἅπασι  
πρόδηλα τὰ μέλλοντα γενήσεσθαι, καὶ προήδεσαν 5  
πάντες, καὶ σὺ προὔλεγες, Αἰσχίνη, καὶ διεμαρτύρου  
βοῶν καὶ κεκραγῶς, ὅς οὐδ' ἐφθέγξω, οὐδ' οὕτως  
295 ἀποστατέον τῇ πόλει τούτων ἦν, εἴπερ ἡ δόξης ἡ  
προγόνων ἡ τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος εἶχε λόγον. νῦν 200  
μὲν γ' ἀποτυχεῖν δοκεῖ τῶν πραγμάτων, ὁ πᾶσι  
κοινόν ἐστιν ἀνθρώποις ὅταν τῷ θεῷ ταῦτα δοκῇ·  
τότε δ' ἀξιούσα προεστάναι τῶν ἄλλων, εἴτ' ἀπο-  
στᾶσα τούτου, Φιλίππῳ προδεδωκέναι πάντας ἂν 5  
ἔσχεν αἰτίαν. εἰ γὰρ ταῦτα προεῖτ' ἀκονιτὶ, περὶ  
ὧν οὐδένα κίνδυνον ὄντιν' οὐχ ὑπέμειναν οἱ πρόγονοι,  
τίς οὐχὶ κατέπτυσεν ἂν σοῦ; μὴ γὰρ τῆς πόλεως γε,  
μηδ' ἐμοῦ. τίσι δ' ὀφθαλμοῖς πρὸς Διὸς ἐρωῶμεν ἂν 201  
τοὺς εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀνθρώπους ἀφικνουμένους, εἰ τὰ

He declares that there has been no "mistake," that no other policy was possible for Athens with her glorious antecedents, even if the whole future, with Chaeronea and its baneful consequences, had been foreseen from the beginning. This is the final answer to the petty criticisms of Aeschines "after the events" (*ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβᾶσιν*, § 197<sup>9</sup>).

6. καὶ σὺ προὔλεγες: the figure of Aeschines himself joining in the general warning adds greatly to the picture.

7. ὅς οὐδ' ἐφθέγξω, you who did not even open your mouth.—οὐδ' οὕτως, not even then: οὕτως sums up in one word the whole of the preceding condition (4—7).

8. ἀποστατέον... ἦν=ἔδει τὴν πόλιν ἀποστῆναι.

9. τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος, future ages.

§ 200. 1, 4. νῦν μὲν... τότε δ': see note on § 195<sup>9</sup>.

2. ἀποτυχεῖν, to have failed (in securing).—τῶν πραγμάτων, mere material objects, opposed to the high principles which would have been sacrificed in the other case (*τότε*).

4. ἀξιούσα (*imperf.*), while she had claimed, followed by the aorist ἀποστᾶσα, and then withdrew, both past to ἔσχεν ἂν. We might have had ἤξιον and ἀπέστη: cf. xv. 27, ὧν ἀπέστη.

6. ἀκονιτὶ, without a struggle, *sine pulvere*; cf. xix. 77.

7. οὐδένα ὄντιν' οὐχ, emphatic equivalent of πάντα: the natural nominative οὐδεὶς ὅστις οὐ (= πᾶς) is illogically declined.

8. σοῦ (accented), with special emphasis.—μὴ γὰρ (*sc. εἰπέ*), don't say the state, or me: πόλεως and ἐμοῦ merely continue the case of σοῦ.

§ 201. 1. τίσι δ'... ἐρωῶμεν ἂν; i.e. how should we now (dare to) look in the face, etc.?

2—8. εἰ τὰ μὲν... τῇρημένης: this elaborate protasis has three divisions—

μὲν πράγματ' εἰς ὅπερ νυνὶ περιέστη ἡγεμῶν δὲ καὶ κύριος ἦρέθη Φίλιππος ἀπάντων, τὸν δ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ γενέσθαι ταῦτ' ἀγῶνα ἕτεροι χωρὶς ἡμῶν ἦσαν πεποιημένοι, καὶ ταῦτα μηδεπώποτε τῆς πόλεως ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθε χρόνοις ἀσφάλειαν ἄδοξον μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν καλῶν κίνδυνον ἡρημένης; τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδεν Ἑλλήνων, τίς δὲ βαρβάρων, ὅτι καὶ παρὰ Θηβαίων καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἔτι τούτων πρότερον ἰσχυρῶν γενομένων Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως μετὰ πολλῆς χάριτος τοῦτ' ἂν ἀσμένως ἐδόθη τῇ πόλει, ὃ τι βούλεται λαβούσῃ καὶ τὰ ἑαυτῆς ἐχούσῃ τὸ κελεύόμενον ποιεῖν καὶ εἰς ἕτερον τῶν Ἑλλήνων προεστάναι; ἀλλ' οὐκ ἦν ταῦθ', ὥς ἔοικε, τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις πάτρια οὐδ' ἀνεκτὰ οὐδ' ἔμφυτα, οὐδ' ἐδυνήθη πώποτε τὴν πόλιν οὐδεὶς ἐκ

(1) εἰ τὰ μὲν...ἀπάντων, (2) τὸν δὲ... πεποιημένοι, (3) καὶ ταῦτα...ἡρημένης. The clause ἡγεμῶν δὲ...ἀπάντων belongs closely with the preceding *εἰ μὲν περιέστη*, and τὸν δ' (not ἡγεμῶν δέ) corresponds to τὰ μὲν.

3. *εἰς ὅπερ νυνὶ*, to the present state, explained by ἡγεμῶν δὲ...ἀπάντων.

4. τὸν...ἀγῶνα, the fight to prevent this.

5. ἕτεροι χωρὶς ἡμῶν: this pathetic picture of Athens sitting still and seeing others fight the battle for Grecian liberty becomes more effective when we remember (what Demosthenes never forgot) that Greece at this crisis had no state except Athens able or willing to take the lead, or any important part, in such a struggle. See §§ 304, 305.

6. καὶ ταῦτα, and this too, introducing the participial clause which completes the supposition: hence *μηδεπώποτε*.

§ 202. 1. τίς...βαρβάρων:

cf. XIX. 312.—παρὰ Θηβαίων: in the time of Epaminondas.

3. παρὰ...Λακεδαιμονίων: after the Peloponnesian war, and before Leuctra.

4. παρὰ...βασιλέως, from Xerxes: see the order given to Mardonius before the battle of Plataea, reported to Athens by Alexander, king of Macedonia (Hdt. VIII. 140): τοῦτο μὲν τὴν γῆν σφί ἀπόδος, τοῦτο δὲ ἄλλην πρὸς ταύτη ἐλέσθων αὐτοὶ, ἥντινα ἂν ἐθέλωσι, ἔόντες αὐτόνομοι. See note on 204<sup>5</sup> (end).

6. ὃ τι βούλεται...προεστάναι: i.e. to keep her own and receive anything she wanted, on condition of being subject to Persia.

§ 203. 1. ὥς ἔοικε, spoken with sarcasm: cf. § 212<sup>6</sup>.

2. πάτρια, i.e. inherited from their ancestors.—οὐδ' ἀνεκτὰ implies that they revolted morally against the idea; οὐδ' ἔμφυτα that it was against their nature as Athenians.

3. ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου, from

παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου πείσαι τοῖς ἰσχύουσι μὲν μὴ  
 δίκαια δὲ πράττουσι προσθεμένην ἀσφαλῶς δου- 5  
 λεύειν, ἀλλ' ἀγωνιζομένη περὶ πρωτείων καὶ τιμῆς  
 296 καὶ δόξης κινδυνεύουσα πάντα τὸν αἰῶνα διατετέλεκε.  
 καὶ ταῦθ' οὕτω σεμνὰ καὶ προσήκοντα τοῖς ὑμετέροις 204  
 ἤθεσιν ὑμεῖς ὑπολαμβάνετε εἶναι ὥστε καὶ τῶν προ-  
 γόνων τοὺς ταῦτα πράξαντας μάλιστα ἐπαινεῖτε.  
 εἰκότως· τίς γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ἀγάσαιο τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκεί-  
 νων τῆς ἀρετῆς, οἳ καὶ τὴν χώραν καὶ τὴν πόλιν 5  
 ἐκλιπεῖν ὑπέμειναν εἰς τὰς τριῆρεις ἐμβάντες ὑπὲρ  
 τοῦ μὴ τὸ κελευόμενον ποιῆσαι, τὸν μὲν ταῦτα συμ-  
 βουλευσάντα Θεμιστοκλέα στρατηγὸν ἐλόμενοι, τὸν  
 δ' ὑπακούειν ἀποφηνάμενον τοῖς ἐπιταττομένοις  
 Κυρσίλον καταλιθώσαντες, οὐ μόνον αὐτὸν, ἀλλὰ καὶ 10  
 αἱ γυναῖκες αἱ ὑμέτεραι τὴν γυναῖκ' αὐτοῦ; οὐ γὰρ 205

*the beginning of time*, a rhetorical υπερβολή, as in § 66<sup>6</sup>; in § 26<sup>7</sup> it means from the beginning of the transaction in question.

4. **μὴ δίκαια**: μὴ, not οὐ, as we should say *οἱ μὴ δίκαια πράττουσιν* (G. 1612).

5. **προσθεμένην**, *taking the side of, attaching herself to*: cf. § 227<sup>6</sup>.—**ἀσφαλῶς δουλεύειν**: the same idea of *security in slavery* is found in the speech of Pericles, Thuc. II. 63 (end).

6. **ἀγωνιζομένη**, as partic. of manner modifies *κινδυνεύουσα διατετέλεκε*.—**πρωτείων, τιμῆς, δόξης**: cf. § 66<sup>7</sup>.

§ 204. 2. **ἤθεσιν**, *moral feelings*: see note on § 114<sup>2</sup>.

4. **ἀγάσαιο**: an epic aorist (see Blass).

5. **πόλιν ἐκλιπεῖν** refers to the time before the battle of Salamis when, by the advice of Themistocles, Athens was abandoned to Xerxes, and all was staked on a sea-fight: so VI. 11. See Cicero, Offic. III. 11, 48: *Cyrsilum quendam, suadentem ut in urbe manerent Xerxemque re-*

*ciperent, lapidibus obruerunt*. Herodotus, IX. 5, tells a similar story of the stoning of a senator named Lycidas, with his wife and children, before the battle of Plataea, when Mardonius sent his second message to Athens (for the earlier message see note on § 202<sup>4</sup>).

6. **ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ...ποιῆσαι**: ὑπὲρ with the gen. of the infin. for a final clause, as in § 205<sup>9</sup>, and in Aesch. III. 1, *ὑπὲρ τοῦ...μὴ γίγνεσθαι*.

8. **τὸν ὑπακούειν ἀποφηνάμενον**, *who declared himself for obedience*: cf. *γνώμην ἀποφαίνεται*, § 189<sup>4</sup>.

10. **καταλιθώσαντες**: acc. to Bl., the only Attic example of *καταλιθῶν* for *καταλέων*.

11. **αἱ γυναῖκες...αὐτοῦ**: the vividness of the picture in the easy flowing narrative is heightened by the irregular insertion of a new subject, *αἱ γυναῖκες*, as if without premeditation.

With this and § 205 compare the speech of the Athenian at Sparta more than a cent Thuc. I. 73—75.

ἐξήτουν οἱ τότε Ἀθηναῖοι οὔτε ῥήτορα οὔτε στρατηγὸν δι' ὅτου δουλεύουσιν εὐτυχῶς, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ζῆν ἡξίου ἐῖ μὴ μετ' ἐλευθερίας ἐξέσται τοῦτο ποιεῖν. ἡγείτο γὰρ αὐτῶν ἕκαστος οὐχὶ τῷ πατρὶ 5 καὶ τῇ μητρὶ μόνον γεγενῆσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ πατρίδι. διαφέρει δὲ τί; ὅτι ὁ μὲν τοῖς γονεῦσι μόνον γεγενῆσθαι νομίζων τὸν τῆς εἰμαρμένης καὶ τὸν αὐτόματον θάνατον περιμένει, ὁ δὲ καὶ τῇ πατρίδι ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ ταύτην ἐπιδεῖν δουλεύουσιν ἀποθνήσκειν ἐθε- 10 λήσει, καὶ φοβερωτέρας ἡγήσεται τὰς ὕβρεις καὶ τὰς ἀτιμίας, ἢς ἐν δουλευούσῃ τῇ πόλει φέρειν ἀνάγκη, τοῦ θανάτου.

Εἰ μὲν τοίνυν τοῦτ' ἐπεχείρουν λέγειν, ὡς ἐγὼ 206

§ 205. 3. δι' ὅτου δουλεύουσιν: *ial* relative (M.T. 565). With δου-  
ύουσιν εὐτυχῶς (sarcastic) cf. ἀ-  
λῶς δουλεύειν, § 203<sup>b</sup>.

4. ἐῖ μὴ ἐξέσται, *if they could not*  
vere not to be able): ἐῖ μὴ ἐξέσοιτο  
ight be used (M.T. 694, 695).

5. οὐχὶ...γεγενῆσθαι: cf. Plat.  
rit. 50 D—51 B; and Arist. Eth. I.

6. τὸ δ' αὐταρκές λέγομεν οὐκ αὐτῷ  
ἑνὶ τῷ ζῶντι βίον μονώτην, ἀλλὰ  
κ. τῷ ζῶντι) καὶ γονεῦσι καὶ τέκνοις  
τ.λ., where αὐτῷ μόνῳ and γονεῦσι  
oth depend on ζῶντι (*living for*  
*imself alone*, and *living also for*  
*arents* etc.), as πατρὶ, μητρὶ, and  
νεῦσι in Demosthenes depend on  
γεγενῆσθαι. The passage of Aristotle  
sometimes called ungrammatical!

8. τὸν τῆς εἰμαρμένης θάνατον, *the*  
*ath of Fate*, i.e. death at an ap-  
ointed time,—opposed to voluntary  
eath, as when one gives his life for  
is country (cf. ἀποθνήσκειν ἐθελήσει,  
): τὸν αὐτόματον θά. is *natural*  
opposed to *violent* death. The two  
e really the same, from different  
oints of view. See West., with  
ulus Gellius, XIII. I, and Cicero,  
hil. I. 4, 10.

9. καὶ τῇ πατρίδι: sc. γεγενῆσθαι  
νομίζων.—ὑπὲρ τοῦ...ἐπιδεῖν: cf. §  
204<sup>b</sup>.

10. δουλεύουσιν, *in a state of*  
*slavery*: see M.T. 885, 148. With  
the pres. partic. cf. μὴ μ' ἰδεῖν  
θανόνθ', *not to see me killed*, Eur.  
Orest. 746.

§ § 206—310 conclude the digres-  
sion which begins in § 188. The  
orator here appeals to the judges not  
to convict Ctesiphon, as this will be a  
condemnation of the people of Athens  
for maintaining the ancient glories of  
the state, the glories of Marathon and  
Salamis.

§ 206. 1—3. ἐῖ...ἐπεχείρουν...  
ἐπιτιμήσιν μοι: this combination of  
a present unreal condition, *if I were*  
*undertaking*, with a future conclusion,  
*everybody would justly censure me*, is  
rare, and perhaps strictly illogical  
(M.T. 504). We should expect an  
imperfect with ἄν in the apodosis;  
and this is implied in the condensed  
form which we have. The real  
meaning is, *if I were (now) under-*  
*taking to tell you this*, the result would  
be (ἦν ἄν) that *all would justly cen-*  
*sure me*.

προήγαγον ὑμᾶς ἄξια τῶν προγόνων φρονεῖν, οὐκ  
 ἔσθ' ὅστις οὐκ ἂν εἰκότως ἐπιτιμήσειέ μοι. νῦν δ'  
 ἐγὼ μὲν ὑμετέρας τὰς τοιαύτας προαιρέσεις ἀπο-  
 φαίνω, καὶ δείκνυμι ὅτι καὶ πρὸ ἐμοῦ τοῦτ' εἶχε τὸ 5  
 φρόνημ' ἡ πόλις, τῆς μέντοι διακονίας τῆς ἐφ' ἐκά-  
 στοις τῶν πεπραγμένων καὶ ἐμαντῶ μετεῖναι φημι,  
 297 οὗτος δὲ τῶν ὅλων κατηγορῶν, καὶ κελεύων ὑμᾶς 207  
 ἐμοὶ πικρῶς ἔχειν ὡς φόβων καὶ κινδύνων αἰτία  
 τῇ πόλει, τῆς μὲν εἰς τὸ παρὸν τιμῆς ἐμ' ἀποστε-  
 ρῆσαι γλιχεται, τὰ δ' εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν λοιπὸν χρό-  
 νον ἐγκώμῳ ὑμῶν ἀφαιρεῖται. εἰ γὰρ ὡς οὐ τὰ 5  
 βέλτιστα ἐμοῦ πολιτευσάμενου τουδὶ καταψηφιεῖσθε,  
 ἡμαρτηκέναι δόξετε, οὐ τῇ τῆς τύχης ἀγνωμοσύνη τὰ  
 συμβάντα παθεῖν. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστιν, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως 208

4. ὑμετέρας: sc. οὔσας.

6. διακονίας, i.e. what he terms the *mental service* is all that he claims for himself. This is in striking contrast with his claim for full recognition of his public services elsewhere: cf. §§ 297—300. But in this grand glorification of Athens and her noble services to freedom, the more he depreciates himself and exalts the state, the stronger does he make his argument that the condemnation of Ctesiphon now would be a condemnation of Athens herself and of all her glorious history.

Notice the antitheses in this passage:—first, the main one, *εἰ μὲν* and *νῦν δὲ* (§ 206<sup>1.3</sup>); then, within the latter, *ἐγὼ μὲν* and *οὗτος δὲ* (§ 207<sup>1</sup>); also *ὑμετέρας* and *καὶ ἐμαντῶ, προαιρέσεις* and *διακονίας*.

§ 207. 1. τῶν ὅλων: opposed to *τῆς ἐφ' ἐκάστοις* (*διακονίας*), § 206<sup>6</sup>.

3. τῆς εἰς τὸ παρὸν τιμῆς: the crown.

4. τὰ...ἐγκώμῳ: i.e. your past glories will be lost for all future time

if they are condemned by your vote to-day.

5. ἀφαιρεῖται is conative: cf. § 13<sup>1</sup>.  
 6. τουδὶ, Ctesiphon, like *τουτοῦ* in § 15<sup>6</sup>.

7. ἀγνωμοσύνη, *harshness* (want of feeling): cf. § 252<sup>1</sup>. *ἀγνωμονῶ* may mean *to be thoughtless* or *inconsiderate*: cf. §§ 94<sup>2</sup>, 248<sup>7</sup>. τὰ συμβάντα, *what befell you*, including Chaeronea.

§ 208. The famous oath by the heroes of Marathon, Plataea, Salamis, and Artemisium here follows. The grandeur of this solemn invocation of the shades of the mighty dead, to support the orator in his last and noblest assertion of the true spirit of Athenian liberty, will strike the most indifferent reader. We do not envy one who is strong enough to read this passage without emotion. Lord Brougham says: "The whole passage, which ends here, and begins *εἰ γὰρ ταῦτα προείτο ἀκούει* (§ 200), is deserving of close study, being one of the greatest pieces of declamation on record in any tongue." See Longinus

ἡμάρτετε, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀπάντων  
ἐλευθερίας καὶ σωτηρίας κίνδυνον ἀράμενοι, μὰ τοὺς  
Μαραθῶνι προκινδυνεύσαντας τῶν προγόνων καὶ  
τοὺς ἐν Πλαταιαῖς παρὰτραξαμένους καὶ τοὺς ἐν 5  
Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχήσαντας καὶ τοὺς ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ<sup>Ἰου</sup>  
καὶ πολλοὺς ἑτέρους τοὺς ἐν τοῖς δημοσίοις μνήμασι<sup>Ἰου</sup>  
κειμένους, ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας, οὓς ἅπαντας ὁμοίως ἢ  
πόλις τῆς αὐτῆς ἀξιώσασα τιμῆς ἔθαψεν, Αἰσχίνῃ,  
οὐχὶ τοὺς κατόρθώσαντας αὐτῶν οὐδὲ τοὺς κρατή- 10  
σαντας μόνους. δικαίως· ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἦν ἀνδρῶν  
ἀγαθῶν ἔργον, ἅπασι πέπρακται· τῇ τύχῃ δ' ἦν ὁ  
δαίμων ἐνειμεν ἐκάστοις, ταύτῃ κέχρηται. ἔπειτ', ὦ 209

on the Sublime 16: ἀπόδειξιν ὁ Δημο-  
σθένης ὑπὲρ τῶν πεπολιτευμένων εἰ-  
φέρει....“οὐχ ἡμάρτετε, ὦ τὸν ὑπὲρ  
τῆς Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας ἀγῶνα ἀρά-  
μενοι· ἔχετε δὲ οἰκεία τούτου παρα-  
δείγματα· οὐδὲ γὰρ οἱ ἐν Μαραθῶνι  
ἡμαρτον οὐδ' οἱ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι κ.τ.λ.”

1, 2. οὐκ ἔστιν...ἡμάρτετε, *it can-  
not be that ye erred: οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως*=  
οὐδαμῶς.

3. ἀράμενοι: cf. πόλεμον ἀρασθαι,  
v. 5.—μὰ τοὺς: most mss. prefix οὐ,  
which Σ omits, μά generally implying  
a negation.—τοὺς...προγόνων (*those  
of*) *our ancestors who bore the brunt  
of battle at Marathon: προκινδυνεύω*  
is here *stand forward* (as *πρόμαχος*)  
to face the foe; from its idea of  
*contending* it may take a dative like  
*μάχομαι*, as in Thuc. i. 73, *φαμέν γὰρ*  
*Μαραθῶνι μόνον προκινδυνεύσαι τῷ*  
*βαρβάρῳ*, a passage which may have  
suggested *προκινδυνεύσαντας* to De-  
mosthenes here.

4. Μαραθῶνι: as the name of an  
Attic deme, this is usually a locative  
dative: but here all mss. except Σ,  
and most quotations, prefix ἐν, which  
is regular with Πλαταιαῖς and Σαλα-  
μῖνι (G. 1197).

5. ἐν Σαλαμῖνι: this battle was  
fought *at* Salamis; the other sea-fight  
was *off* (ἐπ') Artemisium.

7. δημοσίοις μνήμασι: the *public  
tombs* were in the outer Ceramicus,  
on the road leading to the Academy:  
see Paus. i. 29, Thuc. ii. 34. Those  
who fell at Marathon were buried  
on the battlefield, as a special  
honour.

8. ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας, in apposition  
with the preceding accusatives: this  
was by no means a weak term of  
praise with Demosthenes: cf. i. 11.  
—ὁμοίως and τῆς αὐτῆς mutually  
strengthen each other.

10. αὐτῶν: I adopt this partitive  
gen. rather than αὐτοῦς (found in Σ,  
L<sup>1</sup>), as I am not convinced that αὐτοῦς  
can have the force of *especially* (*dis-  
tinguished from others*), ipsos solos  
(Rauchenstein). In defence of Eng-  
lish, we may note that this renowned  
passage has no less than fifty *sigmas*  
in sixty-seven words.

§ 209. The descent from the im-  
passioned patriotic eloquence of the  
preceding passage to the personal  
vituperation of this is depressing.

κατάρτατε καὶ γραμματοκύφων, σὺ μὲν τῆς παρὰ  
 τουτωνὶ τιμῆς καὶ φιλανθρωπίας ἔμ' ἀποστερήσαι  
 βουλόμενος τρόπαια καὶ μάχας καὶ παλαί' ἔργ'  
 ἔλεγες, ὦν τίνος προσεδείθ' ὁ παρῶν ἀγὼν οὕτοσί; 5  
 ἐμὲ δὲ, ὦ τριταγωνιστὰ, τὸν περὶ τῶν πρωτείων σύμ-  
 βουλον τῇ πόλει παριόντα, τὸ τίνος φρόνημα λαβόντ'  
 ἀναβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμ' ἔδει; τὸ τοῦ τούτων ἀνάξι' 210  
 ἐροῦντος; δικαίως μέντ' ἀπέθανον. ἐπεὶ οὐδ' ὑμᾶς,  
 298 ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς διανοίας δεῖ τὰς τ'  
 ιδίας δίκας καὶ τὰς δημοσίας κρίνειν, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν  
 τοῦ καθ' ἡμέραν βίου συμβόλαια ἐπὶ τῶν ιδίων 5  
 νόμων καὶ ἔργων σκοποῦντας, τὰς δὲ κοινὰς προαιρέ-  
 σεις εἰς τὰ τῶν προγόνων ἀξιώματ' ἀποβλέποντας.

2. γραμματοκύφων: ἀντὶ τοῦ  
 γραμματέως, ὅτι οἱ γραμματεῖς προκε-  
 κυφότες γράφουσιν (Etym. Magn.).

4. τρόπαια...ἔλεγες: see Aesch.  
 181.

6. τριταγωνιστὰ: effectively chos-  
 en with reference to πρωτείων, which  
 refers to Athens as competitor for  
 the first prize in the political ἀγὼν,  
 in which Demosthenes is her adviser.

7. τὸ τίνος φρόνημα λαβόντ', in-  
 spired by whose spirit?

§ 210. 2. δικαίως μέντ' ἀπέ-  
 θανον, but (in that case) I should have  
 deserved to die. μέντ' by crasis for  
 μέντοι ἄν.—οὐδ' ὑμᾶς...δεῖ, neither  
 should you (any more than I).

3. διανοίας, spirit (way of think-  
 ing).

4. ιδίας, δημοσίας: this has no  
 reference to the ordinary distinction  
 of γραφαὶ and δίκαι, public and private  
 suits, which correspond generally to  
 our criminal and civil processes.  
 Here δίκη has its widest legal sense  
 of lawsuit in general, including both  
 γραφή and δίκη (in its narrower sense).  
 ἰδιαὶ δίκαι are suits which concern  
 individuals and their ordinary business  
 relations (συμβόλαια), which of course

must be judged with reference to special  
 statutes (ἐπὶ ἰδίων νόμων, cf. ἐπ' ἀλη-  
 θείας, § 22<sup>1</sup>), which may change from  
 year to year, and to special facts (ἰδίων  
 ἔργων), without regard to the general  
 policy or the traditions of the state:  
 even criminal suits (γραφαί) which  
 involve nothing more than the acts of  
 individuals would be included here.  
 But δημόσιαι δίκαι are suits like the  
 present one, which involve a judgment  
 on the general policy of statesmen  
 (κοινὰς προαιρέσεις), whose acts are  
 not prescribed by special statutes, but  
 must be governed to a great extent  
 by general principles and traditions  
 of state: these, the orator says, must  
 be judged by reference to the glorious  
 deeds of the past. Demosthenes  
 insists here, as elsewhere, that the  
 only real question involved in this  
 case is that of his own statesmanship  
 and his fidelity to the best traditions  
 of Athens, while Aeschines constantly  
 urges the court to treat it as a common  
 ἰδία δίκη and settle it by reference to  
 ordinary facts and petty details. (See  
 Aesch. 199, 200.) Aeschines saw  
 that here lay his only chance of  
 success in his suit.

καὶ παραλαμβάνειν γ' ἅμα τῇ βακτηρίᾳ καὶ τῷ συμβόλῳ τὸ φρόνημα τὸ τῆς πόλεως νομίζειν ἕκαστον ὑμῶν δεῖ, ὅταν τὰ δημόσι' εἰσίστητε κρινούντες, εἴπερ 10 ἄξι' ἐκείνων πράττειν οἴεσθε χρῆναι.

Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐμπεσὼν εἰς τὰ πεπραγμένα τοῖς 211 προγόνοις ὑμῶν ἔστιν ἃ τῶν ψηφισμάτων παρέβην καὶ τῶν πραχθέντων. ἐπανελθεῖν οὖν ὑπόθεν ἐνταῦθ' ἐξέβην βούλομαι.

Ὡς γὰρ ἀφικόμεθ' εἰς τὰς Θήβας, καταλαμβάνομεν 5 Φιλίππου καὶ Θετταλῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων παρόντας πρέσβεις, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἡμετέρους φίλους ἐν φόβῳ, τοὺς δ' ἐκείνου θρασεῖς. ὅτι δ' οὐ νῦν ταῦτα λέγω τοῦ συμφέροντος ἕνεκ' ἐμαυτῷ, λέγε μοι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἣν τότε ἐπέμψαμεν εὐθύς οἱ πρέσβεις. 10 καίτοι τοσαύτη γ' ὑπερβολὴ συκοφαντίας οὗτος 212 κέχρηται ὥστ', εἰ μὲν τι τῶν δεόντων ἐπράχθη, τὸν καιρὸν, οὐκ ἐμέ φησιν αἴτιον γεγενῆσθαι, τῶν δ' ὡς ἐτέρως συμβάντων ἀπάντων ἐμέ καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν τύχην αἰτίαν εἶναι· καὶ, ὡς ἔοικεν, ὁ σύμβουλος καὶ ῥήτωρ 5

8. τῇ βακτηρίᾳ καὶ τῷ συμβόλῳ, *his staff and his ticket*: each judge received in the morning a staff painted with the same colour as the lintel (σφηγίσκος) of the court house in which he was to sit; after entering the court, he gave up his staff to an officer, and received a ticket (σύμβολον), which entitled him to receive his fee of three obols (δικαστικόν) after his day's service.

§ 211. He now returns to the account of the embassy to Thebes, from which he digressed in § 188.

5. ἀφικόμεθ': i.e. the ambassadors.

6. Φιλίππου...πρέσβεις: see Plut. Dem. 18, and Philoch. frag. 135, Φιλίππου δὲ καταλαβόντος Ἐλάτειαν καὶ Κυτίνιον, καὶ πρέσβεις πέμψαντος εἰς Θήβας Θετταλῶν, Αἰνιανῶν, Αἰτω-

λῶν, Δολόπων, Φθιωτῶν. Ἀθηναίων δὲ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον πρέσβεις ἀποστειλάντων τοὺς περὶ Δημοσθένη, τοῦτοις συμμαχεῖν ἐψηφίσαντο.

8. *δτι...λέγω* is connected with λέγε (9) by a suppressed phrase like *to show*. See Krüger, Gr. Gr. 65, 1, Anm. 6.

10. ἣν τότε ἐπέμψαμεν: opposed to νῦν λέγω (8).

§ 212. These words were spoken while the clerk was preparing to read the letter: cf. § 180.

2. τὸν καιρὸν: see Aesch. 137—141 and 237—239; esp. ὁ δ' εἰσάγων ἦν ὑμᾶς εἰς τὰς Θήβας καιρὸς καὶ φόβος καὶ χρεῖα συμμαχίας, ἀλλ' οὐ Δημοσθένης (141).

3. ὡς ἐτέρως: see note on § 85<sup>6</sup>.

4. τύχην: see Aesch. 157.

ἐγὼ τῶν μὲν ἐκ λόγου καὶ τοῦ βουλευσασθαι πρα-  
χθέντων οὐδὲν αὐτῷ συναίτιος εἶναι δοκῶ, τῶν δ' ἐν  
τοῖς ὅπλοις καὶ κατὰ τὴν στρατηγίαν ἀτυχηθέντων  
μόνος αἴτιος εἶναι. πῶς ἂν ὠμότερος συκοφάντης  
γένοιτ' ἢ καταρατότερος; λέγε τὴν ἐπιστολήν.

10

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## ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ.

Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἐποιήσαντο τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, προσ- 213  
ἦγον ἐκείνους προτέρους διὰ τὸ τὴν τῶν συμμάχων  
τάξιν ἐκείνους ἔχειν. καὶ παρελθόντες ἐδημηγόρου  
πολλὰ μὲν Φίλιππον ἐγκωμιάζοντες, πολλὰ δ' ὑμῶν  
κατηγοροῦντες, πάνθ' ὅσα πώποτ' ἐναντί' ἐπράξατε 5  
Θηβαίοις ἀναμνησκόντες, τὸ δ' οὖν κεφάλαιον,  
ἡξιούντων μὲν εὖ πεπόνθεσαν ὑπὸ Φιλίππου χάριν  
αὐτοὺς ἀποδοῦναι, ὧν δ' ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἡδίκηντο δίκην  
λαβεῖν, ὅποτέρως βούλονται, ἢ διέντας αὐτοὺς ἐφ'  
ὑμᾶς ἢ συνεμβάλλοντας εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν· καὶ ἐδεί- 10  
κνυσαν, ὡς ᾤοντο, ἐκ μὲν ὧν αὐτοὶ συνεβούλευον  
τάκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς βοσκήματα καὶ ἀνδράποδα καὶ  
τᾶλλ' ἀγαθὰ εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἤξοντα, ἐκ δ' ὧν ἡμᾶς

7. συναίτιος, partner, opposed to  
μόνος αἴτιος (9).—τῶν...ἀτυχηθέντων  
= ἃ ἡτύχησαμεν.

§ 213. 1. τὴν ἐκκλησίαν: i.e.  
at Thebes. The narrative is con-  
tinued from § 211<sup>6</sup>.

2. τῶν συμμάχων: i.e. of Thebes.

6. τὸ κεφάλαιον, adverbial, in  
short.

7. ὧν μὲν εὖ πεπόνθεσαν, for the  
benefits they had received, εὖ πάσχειν  
as passive of εὖ ποιεῖν: this corre-  
sponds to ὧν δ' ἡδίκηντο (8).

8. αὐτοὺς: the Thebans, while  
αὐτοὺς in 9 refers to the Macedonians.

9. ὅποτέρως βούλονται, in which-  
ever way they pleased, in the mood  
and tense of the direct form, the

exhortation being take vengeance in  
whichever way you please.—διέντας  
αὐτοὺς, i.e. by letting them pass  
through Boeotia into Attica (cf.  
§ 146<sup>4</sup>). The aorists διέντας and  
συνεμβάλλοντας have the better au-  
thority here: when an aor. partic.  
denotes that in which the action of  
a verb (usually aorist) consists, so  
that they really designate one act,  
the two may coincide in time, as in  
Plat. Phaed. 60 c, εὖ γ' ἐποίησας ἀνα-  
μνήσας με, you did well to remind me.  
(See M.T. 150, with the examples.)

11. ἐκ μὲν...συνεβούλευον, as a  
consequence of following their advice,  
opposed to ἐκ δ' ὧν ἡμᾶς εἰπεῖν ἔφασαν  
in l. 13.

ερεῖν ἔφασαν τὰν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ διαρπασθησόμεν' ὑπὸ τοῦ πολέμου. καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ πρὸς τοῦτοις, εἰς 15 ταῦτα δὲ πάντα συντίθεντ', ἔλεγον. ἃ δ' ἡμεῖς πρὸς 214 ταῦτα, τὰ μὲν καθ' ἕκαστα ἐγὼ μὲν ἀντὶ παντὸς ἀντιμησαίμην εἰπεῖν τοῦ βίου, ὑμᾶς δὲ δέδοικα, μὴ παρελθυθῶτων τῶν καιρῶν, ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ καὶ κατακλυσμὸν γεγενῆσθαι τῶν πραγμάτων ἡγούμενοι, μάταιον 5 ὄχλον τοὺς περὶ τούτων λόγους νομίσητε· ὅ τι δ' οὖν ἐπέισαμεν ἡμεῖς καὶ ἡμῖν ἀπεκρίναντο, ἀκούσατε. λέγε ταυτὶ λαβών.

## ΑΠΟΚΡΙΣΕΙΣ ΘΗΒΑΙΩΝ.

Μετὰ ταῦτα τοῖνυν ἐκάλουν ὑμᾶς καὶ μετεπέμ- 215  
ποντο. ἐξῆτε, ἐβοηθεῖτε, ἵνα τὰν μέσσω παραλείπω,

§ 214. 1. ἃ δ' ἡμεῖς: sc. ἐλέγομεν.  
2. τὰ μὲν καθ' ἕκαστα, *the details*, with the subordinate ἐγὼ μὲν and ὑμᾶς is in antithesis to ὅ τι δ' οὖν ἐπέισαμεν (i.e. the sum of what we accomplished) in l. 6.—ἀντὶ...τοῦ βίου, as we might say, *I would give my life*: cf. τιμᾶν and τιμᾶσθαι used of estimating the penalty in a lawsuit; and l. 1, ἀντὶ πολλῶν ἀν χρημάτων λίσσθαι. It is not hard to see why Demosthenes should be unwilling to repeat any part of this brilliant speech. The hope of successes of the allies against Philip, which he probably held out, had been disappointed by the crushing defeat at Chaeronea; and the destruction of Thebes three years later must have made the whole one of this speech now sadly untimely. Plutarch (Dem. 18) gives a graphic account of the Theban assembly and of the address, which was probably one of the orator's greatest efforts.

4. ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ...ἡγούμενοι, as (*you would think, ἐνομίσετε ἂν*) if you believed, etc. (M.T. 227, 868). Strictly we should have either ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ

ἡγείσθε (impf.) or ὥσπερ ἂν ἡγούμενοι (=εἰ ἡγείσθε), since a conditional participle is not regularly preceded by εἰ (M.T. 472). But it would seem that the colloquial use of ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ, *quasi*, sometimes caused the true ellipsis to be overlooked and the εἰ to be irregularly added.—καὶ κατακλυσμὸν; i.e. *also a deluge*, as well as the lapse of opportunity (παρελθυθῶτων τῶν καιρῶν).

5. τῶν πραγμάτων, objective genitive after κατακλυσμὸν.

6. ὅ τι ἐπέισαμεν and (ὅ τι)...ἀπεκρίναντο are the same thing.

§ 215. 1. ἐκάλουν ὑμᾶς, i.e. *called your army* to Thebes. This is what Demosthenes provided for in § 178<sup>2-4</sup> (see notes), when he proposed to give the embassy concurrent power with the generals over the movements of the army. This march to Thebes, after the answer of the Thebans had been sent to Athens (μετὰ ταῦτα), is commonly thought to be directly opposed to the account of Aeschines in III. 140: Dissen exclaims indignantly, "Haecce manifesta mendacia

οὕτως οἰκείως ὑμᾶς ἐδέχοντο, ὥστ' ἔξω τῶν ὀπλιτῶν  
 300 καὶ τῶν ἱππέων ὄντων εἰς τὰς οἰκίας καὶ τὸ ἄστν  
 δέχεσθαι τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπὶ παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ 5  
 τὰ τιμιώτατα. καίτοι τρί' ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ πᾶσιν  
 ἀνθρώποις ἔδειξαν ἐγκώμια Θηβαῖοι καθ' ὑμῶν τὰ  
 κάλλιστα, ἐν μὲν ἀνδρείας, ἕτερον δὲ δικαιοσύνης,  
 τρίτον δὲ σωφροσύνης. καὶ γὰρ τὸν ἀγῶνα μεθ'  
 ὑμῶν μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐλόμενοι ποιήσασθαι, καὶ 10  
 ἀμείνους εἶναι καὶ δικαιότερ' ἀξιοῦν ὑμᾶς ἔκριναν  
 Φιλίππου· καὶ τὰ παρ' αὐτοῖς καὶ παρὰ πᾶσι δ' ἐν

potuisse coram iudicibus dici!" But Aeschines says only that the march to Thebes took place *πρὶν περὶ συμμαχίας μίαν μὲν συλλαβὴν γράψαι Δημοσθένειν*. Now that the "decree of Demosthenes" (181—187) is known to be a forgery, we have no reason for thinking that any formal treaty of alliance preceded the invitation of the Athenian army to Thebes. Demosthenes could have proposed such a treaty only after his return to Athens. It appears from the criticisms of Aeschines on the treaty (141—144) that it was an elaborate document; and it is probable that it was not made and ratified until some time after the march to Thebes, which required no further legislation than the decree appointing the ambassadors. It must be remembered that Demosthenes (§ 178) proposed that the embassy should simply offer the Athenian army to Thebes without insisting on any formal terms, *ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι βοηθήσειν ἂν κελεύωσιν*.

3. *ἔξω...όντων*: this is commonly referred to the Athenian army, who are supposed to have first encamped outside the city and afterwards to have been invited to enter Thebes and occupy the houses. It is surely far more natural and agrees better

with the context to understand that while the Theban infantry and cavalry (i.e. the whole army) were encamped outside the walls, the Athenian army was quartered in the town. The use of a pronoun to designate which army is meant is felt in both interpretation but as the subject is the Thebans, it is more natural to refer the absolute clause to them. Again, the emphasis *given twice* to *παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας* (5 and 13) implies that the men were absent; and *ἐφ' ὑμῶν ποιήσαντες* (12) as a testimony to the *σωφροσύνη* of the Athenians, implies this still more strongly.

7. *καθ' ὑμῶν, ὑποφ' ὑμῶν*, as in VI. *καθ' ὑμῶν ἐγκώμιον*, not in its common hostile sense. See Arist. Pol. III. 1. 14, *κατὰ δὲ τοιοῦτων οὐκ ἔστι νόμος αὐτοὶ γὰρ εἰσι νόμος, in respect to such men there is no law, for they are law unto themselves*. In the parallel passage of St Paul, Gal. v. 23, *κατὰ τῶν τοιοῦτων* is translated *against such*. See Rom. ii. 14, *ἐαυτοῖς εἰσι νόμος* where we have the rest of the passage of Aristotle.

11. *δικαιότερ' ἀξιοῦν*, *that you made juster claims on them*.

12. *καὶ παρὰ πᾶσι δ'*, *and indeed (καὶ) with all mankind*, parenthetically after *παρ' αὐτοῖς*.

πλείστη φυλακῇ, παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας, ἐφ' ὑμῖν ποιήσαντες, σωφροσύνης πίστιν περὶ ὑμῶν ἔχοντες ἔδειξαν. ἐν οἷς πᾶσιν, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, κατὰ γ' 216 ὑμᾶς ὀρθῶς ἐφάνησαν ἐγνωκότες. οὔτε γὰρ εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἰσελθόντος τοῦ στρατοπέδου οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν οὐδ' ἀδίκως ὑμῖν ἐνεκάλεσεν· οὕτω σώφρονας παρέσχεθ' ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς· δις τε συμπαραταξάμενοι τὰς πρώτας, 5 τὴν τ' ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τὴν χειμερινὴν, οὐκ ἀμέμπτους μόνον ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀλλὰ καὶ θαυμαστοὺς ἐδείξατε τῷ κόσμῳ, ταῖς παρασκευαῖς, τῇ προθυμίᾳ. ἐφ' οἷς παρὰ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ὑμῖν ἐγίνοντ' ἔπαινοι, παρὰ δ' ὑμῶν θυσίαι καὶ πομπαὶ τοῖς θεοῖς. καὶ 217 ἔγωγ' ἡδέως ἂν ἐροίμην Αἰσχίνην, ὅτε ταυτ' ἐπράττετο καὶ ζήλου καὶ χαρᾶς καὶ ἐπαινῶν ἢ πόλις ἢ μεστή, πότερον συνέθυε καὶ συνευφραίνετο τοῖς πολλοῖς, ἢ λυπούμενος καὶ στένων καὶ δυσμεναίνων τοῖς 5 κοινοῖς ἀγαθοῖς οἶκοι καθήτο. εἰ μὲν γὰρ παρὴν καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐξητάζετο, πῶς οὐ δεινὰ ποιεῖ,

14. ἔχοντες: *or. obl.* with ἔδειξαν.

§ 216. 2. ὀρθῶς ἐφάνησαν ἐγνωκότες, *it appeared (later) that they had judged rightly* (ἐγνώκασιν): cf.

§ 215<sup>14</sup>.—οὔτε...οὐδὲν οὐδ': a remarkable accumulation of emphatic negatives: οὔτε corresponds to τε (5).

3. οὐδ' ἀδίκως, (not) even unjustly.

5. δις τε...πρώτας, *when you twice stood in line with them in the earliest encounters*: some cognate object is implied in συμπαραταξάμενοι. All

MSS. except Σ add μάχας, as if μάχεσάμενοι had preceded. The natural accus. would be παρατάξεις, following the meaning of συμπαραταξάμενοι and so signifying *battle array* or *battles*. See Aesch. III. 151, ἐπὶ τὴν παράταξιν ὤρμησαν.

6. τὴν τ' ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ, *the river battle*, probably fought on the

upper Cephissus, which flows through Phocis before it enters Boeotia near Chaeronea.—τὴν χειμερινὴν, the "winter battle," probably fought on some wintry day in the hilly parts of Phocis. Many still find chronological difficulties in this winter campaign, forgetting that the only trouble arose from the spurious decree in §§ 181—187, dated in midsummer. See notes on §§ 152<sup>8</sup> and 181—187, with Hist. § 65.

9. παρὰ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ὑμῖν is in strong (double) antithesis to παρὰ δ' ὑμῶν τοῖς θεοῖς.

§ 217. 3. ζήλου, *pride, glory*: see note on § 120<sup>6</sup>.

7. μετὰ...ἐξητάζετο, *was counted in with the rest*, the same military figure which is common in this speech: see note on § 173<sup>6</sup>.

μᾶλλον δ' οὐδ' ὅσια, εἰ ὦν ὡς ἀρίστων αὐτὸς τοὺς  
 θεοὺς ἐποιήσατο μάρτυρας. ταῦθ' ὡς οὐκ ἄριστα νῦν  
 301 ὑμᾶς ἀξιοῖ ψηφίσασθαι τοῖς ὁμωμοκότας τοῖς θεοῖς : 10  
 εἰ δὲ μὴ παρῆν, πῶς οὐκ ἀπολωλέναι πολλάκις ἐστὶ  
 δίκαιος, εἰ ἐφ' οἷς ἔχαιρον οἱ ἄλλοι, ταῦτ' ἐλυπεῖν  
 ὁρῶν ; λέγε δὴ καὶ ταῦτα τὰ ψηφίσματά μοι.

### ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ ΘΥΣΙΩΝ.

Οὐκοῦν ἡμεῖς μὲν ἐν θυσίαις ἤμεν τότε, Θηβαῖοι 218  
 δ' ἐν τῷ δι' ἡμᾶς σεσῶσθαι νομίζειν, καὶ περιεστῆκει  
 τοῖς βοηθείας δεήσεσθαι δοκοῦσιν ἀφ' ὧν ἔπραττον  
 οὗτοι, αὐτοὺς βοηθεῖν ἑτέροις ἐξ ὧν ἐπείσθητ' ἐμοί.  
 ἀλλὰ μὴν οἷας τὸτ' ἡφίει φωνὰς ὁ Φίλιππος καὶ ἐν 5  
 οἷαις ἦν ταραχαῖς ἐπὶ τούτοις, ἐκ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν  
 τῶν ἐκείνου μαθήσεσθε ὧν εἰς Πελοπόννησον ἔπεμ-  
 πεν. καὶ μοι λέγε ταύτας λαβὼν, ἵν' εἰδῇτε ἡ ἐμὴ  
 συνέχεια καὶ πλάνοι καὶ ταιλαιπωρία καὶ τὰ πολλὰ  
 ψηφίσματα, ἃ νῦν οὗτος διέσυρε, τί ἀπειργάσατο. 10

8. οὐδ' ὅσια, *even impieties*: cf. note on § 1<sup>6</sup>.

8, 9. ὡς ἀρίστων...ὡς οὐκ ἄριστα: with reference to the words of Ctesiphon's decree, *ὅτι διατελεῖ καὶ λέγων καὶ πράττων τὰ ἄριστα τῷ δήμῳ* (Aesch. 49). If Aeschines joined in the thanksgivings, he declared before the Gods that the policy of Demosthenes was good: but he now asks the court to declare this not good by condemning Ctesiphon.

10. ὁμωμοκότας: of the Heliastic oath.

11. ἀπολωλέναι πολλάκις: cf. XIX. 110, *τρίς οὐχ ἅπαξ ἀπολωλέναι δίκαιος*.

§ 218. 2. ἐν τῷ...νομίζειν, *in the belief*, corresponding to *ἐν θυσίαις* (1), both denoting what occupied their minds.

3. τοῖς...δοκοῦσιν (impf.), *to those*

*who had seemed likely to need help*, i.e. ourselves.—ἀφ' ὧν ἔπραττον, in antithesis to ἐξ ὧν ἐπείσθητ' ἐμοί: cf. § 213<sup>11-13</sup>.

4. αὐτοὺς, *ipsos*, i.e. *ourselves*: for the accus. see Xen. Oec. 11, 23, *συμφέρει αὐτοῖς φίλους εἶναι*, where φίλοις would be more common (G. 928<sup>1</sup>).—βοηθεῖν ἑτέροις: subj. of *περιεστῆκει*, *it had come about*.

5. οἷας ἡφίει φωνὰς: cf. § 195<sup>6</sup>.

6. ἐπιστολῶν: for an earlier letter of Philip to Peloponnesus asking for help, see § 156.

9. πλάνοι refers especially to his frequent journeys to Thebes while the negotiations were going on, and also to his other embassies (cf. § 244).—τὰ πολλὰ, *the many*.

10. διέσυρε: see the general ridicule of his decrees in Aesch. 111.

Καίτοι πολλοὶ παρ' ὑμῖν, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, γεγό- 219  
 νασι ῥήτορες ἔνδοξοι καὶ μεγάλοι πρὸ ἐμοῦ, Καλλί-  
 στρατος ἐκείνος, Ἀριστοφῶν, Κέφαλος, Θρασύβου-  
 λος, ἕτεροι μυρίοι· ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐδεὶς πώποτε τούτων  
 διὰ παντὸς ἔδωκεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς οὐδὲν τῇ πόλει, ἀλλ' ὁ 5  
 μὲν γράφων οὐκ ἂν ἐπρέσβευσεν, ὁ δὲ πρεσβέων οὐκ  
 ἂν ἔγραψεν. ὑπέλειπε γὰρ αὐτῶν ἕκαστος ἑαυτῷ  
 ἅμα μὲν ῥαστώνην, ἅμα δ' εἴ τι γένοιτ' ἀναφοράν.  
 τί οὖν; εἴποι τις ἂν, σὺ τοσοῦτον ὑπερήρας ῥώμῃ 220  
 καὶ τόλμῃ ὥστε πάντα ποιεῖν αὐτός; οὐ ταῦτα  
 λέγω, ἀλλ' οὕτως ἐπεπείσμην μέγαν εἶναι τὸν κατ-  
 ειληφότα κίνδυνον τὴν πόλιν ὥστ' οὐκ ἐδόκει μοι  
 χώραν οὐδὲ πρόνοιαν οὐδεμίαν τῆς ἰδίας ἀσφαλείας 5

201-3. This remark may perhaps refer to the fierce criticism of the terms of the alliance with Thebes II. 141-143).—τί ἀπειργάσατο: the position of τί is emphatic: cf. ἐψασθε πῶς, § 235<sup>4</sup>. We should expect συνέχεια etc. to be in the accus. by the usual attraction; but they are a more expressive as they stand.

§§ 219-221 were spoken while the clerk was preparing to read the letters of Philip.

§ 219. 2. Καλλίστρατος: the famous orator whose eloquence is said to have inspired Demosthenes (as a boy) to devote himself to oratory: see note on § 99<sup>8</sup>.

3. Ἀριστοφῶν: mentioned in § 96.—Κέφαλος: see § 251.—Θρασύβουλος, of Collytus, who served under his distinguished namesake in the restoration of 403 B.C. (XXIV. 134). He was afterwards a warm friend of Thebes: see Aesch. III. 138, ἀνὴρ ἐν ἡβαῖς πιστευθεὶς ὡς οὐδεὶς ἕτερος.

5. διὰ παντός, throughout; like τλῶς, §§ 88<sup>8</sup>, 179<sup>1</sup>.

6. οὐκ ἂν ἐπρέσβευσεν...ἔγραψεν: with iterative (M.T. 162): we often use *would* in such iterative expressions,

with no potential force; as *he would often tell me stories* (see M.T. 249).

8. ῥαστώνην, enjoyment of ease.—εἴ τι γένοιτ' ἀναφοράν, i.e. *some retreat in case of accident*: εἴ τι γένοιτο depends on an apodosis implied in ἀναφοράν; cf. Aeschyl. Sept. 1015, ὡς οὐκ ἀναστατήρα...εἴ μὴ θεῶν τις ἐμποδῶν ἔστη δορί (M.T. 480). The direct form, ἐάν τι γένηται, might have been used: see Aesch. II. 104, αὐτοῖς κατέλιπον τὴν εἰς τὸ ἀφανὲς ἀναφορὰν ἂν μὴ πείθωμεν. The meaning comes from the middle ἀναφέρεσθαι, *to carry oneself back*.

§ 220. 1. ὑπερήρας; *did you excel?* absolutely, or possibly sc. τούτους.—ῥώμῃ: i.e. so as to need no ἀναφορά (§ 219<sup>8</sup>).

3. οὕτως ἐπεπείσμην, *I had so thoroughly convinced myself*.

4. ἐδόκει is first personal (sc. ὁ κίνδυνος); then (without οὐκ) understood as impersonal with ἀγαπητὸν εἶναι.

5. χώραν δίδοναι is *to allow room* for considerations of personal safety; πρόνοιαν δίδοναι is *to allow thought* for this. We should say *to allow room for thought*.

302 δίδοναι, ἀλλ' ἀγαπητὸν εἶναι εἰ μὴδὲν παραλείπων  
 τις ἂ δέῃ πράξειεν. ἐπεπείσμην δ' ὑπὲρ ἑμαυτοῦ, 221  
 τυχὸν μὲν ἀναισθητῶν, ὅμως δ' ἐπεπείσμην, μήτε  
 γράφοντ' ἂν ἐμοῦ γράψαι βέλτιον μὴδὲνα μήτε  
 πράττοντα πράξαι, μήτε πρεσβεύοντα πρεσβεῦσαι  
 προθυμότερον μὴδὲ δικαιότερον. διὰ ταῦτ' ἐν πάσιν 5  
 ἑμαυτὸν ἔταττον. λέγε τὰς ἐπιστολάς τὰς τοῦ  
 Φιλίππου.

## ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΑΙ.

Εἰς ταῦτα κατέστησε Φίλιππον ἡ ἐμὴ πολιτεία, 222  
 Αἰσχίνη· ταύτην τὴν φωνὴν ἐκείνος ἀφήκε, πολλοὺς  
 καὶ θρασεῖς τὰ πρὸ τούτων τῇ πόλει ἐπαιρόμενος  
 λόγους. ἀνθ' ὧν δικαίως ἐστεφανούμην ὑπὸ τουτῶν,  
 καὶ σὺ παρῶν οὐκ ἀντέλεγες, ὃ δὲ γραψάμενος 5  
 Διώνδας τὸ μέρος τῶν ψήφων οὐκ ἔλαβεν. Καί μοι  
 λαβὲ ταῦτα τὰ ψηφίσματα τὰ τότε μὲν ἀποπεφευ-  
 γότα, ὑπὸ τούτου δ' οὐδὲ γραφέντα.

6. ἀγαπητὸν...πράξειεν: in the direct form, ἀγαπητὸν ἐστὶν εἰάν τις... ἂ δέῃ πράξῃ, we must be content (impers.) if we (shall) do our duty, omitting nothing.

7. ἂ δέῃ = τὰ δέοντα, our duty: ἂ is here definite; but with a slight change in the view it might have been ἂ ἂν δέῃ or ἂ δέοι (Dobree's conjecture), with conditional force.

§ 221. 2. τυχὸν, perhaps, acc. abs. (M.T. 851).—ἀναισθητῶν, senselessly: I follow Vömel, Bekk., and West, in this reading, though ἀναισθητον (adv.) has better Ms. authority.—ὅμως, nevertheless, with reference to ἀναισθητῶν.—μήτε...γράφαι: the direct form would be οὐτ' ἂν ἐμοῦ γράψῃε βέλτιον οὐδέτις: for μή thus used with infin. in *or. obl.*, see M.T. 685, and Liddell and Scott, art. μή, B. 5, c. ἂν belongs to γράψαι, πράξαι, and πρεσβεῦσαι, and βέλτιον to γράψαι and πράξαι.

§ 222. 3. ἐπαιρόμενος, of raising (as a threat). Harpocr.: ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐπανατεινόμενος, Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ ὑπὲρ Κτησιφῶντος. Cf. XIX. 153, οὐδὲν ἂν ὑμῖν εἶχεν ἀνατείνασθαι φοβερὸν (of threats of Philip); and Eur. Iph. T. 1484, παύσω δὲ λόγχην ἣν ἐπαίρωμαι ξένους (of a spear uplifted to strike). (Bl.) ἐπαιρόμενος is imperfect, as is shown by τὰ πρὸ τούτων.

5. παρῶν, though present: see §§ 83<sup>6</sup> and 117<sup>7</sup>.

6. Διώνδας: mentioned with contempt in § 249<sup>9</sup>.—τὸ μέρος (sc. πέμπτον), see notes on §§ 103<sup>2</sup>, 266<sup>9</sup>.

7. ψηφίσματα: for the plural see note on § 223<sup>5</sup>.—ἀποπεφευγότα, acquitted (on the γραφή παρανόμων): τὰ φεῦγον ψήφισμα, XXIII. 58, is the decree on trial.

8. γραφέντα, indicted: cf. γραφέντα, proposed, § 86<sup>4</sup>. See note on § 56<sup>4</sup>.

## ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ.

Ταυτὶ τὰ ψηφίσματ', ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὰς αὐτὰς 223  
 συλλαβὰς καὶ ταῦτ' ῥήματ' ἔχει ἅπερ πρότερον μὲν  
 Ἀριστόνικος νῦν δὲ Κτησιφῶν γέγραφεν οὕτως.  
 καὶ ταῦτ' Αἰσχίνης οὐγ' ἐδίωξεν αὐτὸς οὔτε τῷ  
 γραψαμένῳ συγκατηγορήσεν. καίτοι τότε τὸν Δη- 5  
 μομέλη τὸν ταῦτα γράφοντα καὶ τὸν Ὑπερίδην,  
 εἴπερ ἀληθῆ μου νῦν κατηγορεῖ, μᾶλλον ἂν εἰκότως ἦ  
 τόνδ' ἐδίωκεν. διὰ τί; ὅτι τῷδε μὲν ἔστ' ἀνευεγκεῖν 224  
 ἐπ' ἐκείνους καὶ τὰς τῶν δικαστηρίων γνώσεις καὶ  
 303 τὸ τοῦτον αὐτὸν ἐκείνων μὴ κατηγορηκέαι ταῦτα  
 γραψάντων ἅπερ οὗτος νῦν, καὶ τὸ τοὺς νόμους  
 μηκέτ' εἶναι περὶ τῶν οὕτω πραχθέντων κατηγορεῖν, 5  
 καὶ πόλλ' ἕτερα· τότε δ' αὐτὸ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἂν ἐκρίνεται

§ 223. 1—3. For the questions concerning the decree of Aristonicus and δευτέρου κηρύγματος in § 83<sup>5</sup>, see notes on that passage and on § 120<sup>3</sup>.

5. *συγκατηγορήσεν*, *aided in the accusation* (as *συνήγορος*).—*Δημομέλη* ... *Ὑπερίδην*: the two names probably indicate a decree moved by Demomeles (cousin of Demosthenes) and amended or enlarged by Hyperides. Such double or treble bills were common (see C. I. Att. II. no. 469; whence τὰ ψηφίσματα in § 222<sup>7</sup>).

7. *εἴπερ—νῦν κατηγορεῖ*: the simple present condition is correct here, and more effective than G. H. Schaefer's *κατηγόρει*. The meaning is, *if he is now accusing me honestly, he would have had more reason for prosecuting* (i.e. if he had prosecuted) *D. and H. then than he has for prosecuting Ctes. now.*

§ 224. 1. *τῷδε* (like *τόνδε* and *τῷδε* in § 223<sup>8</sup>) is Ctesiphon, who is

*οὗτος* in 4; while Aeschines is *τοῦτον αὐτόν* in 3.

5. *μηκέτ' εἶναι...κατηγορεῖν*: the principle that "no man can be twice put in jeopardy for the same offence" is distinctly stated in the Attic law: see XX. 147, *οἱ νόμοι δ' οὐκ ἐῷσι δις πρὸς τὸν αὐτὸν περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν οὔτε δίκας οὔτ' εὐθύνας οὔτε διαδικασίας οὔτ' ἄλλο τοιοῦτον οὐδὲν εἶναι*, and XXIV. 55. This could here be urged by Ctesiphon as a moral, though not as a legal, argument. Aeschines is prosecuting him now on the ground of charges against Demosthenes which were indirectly declared false by the acquittal of Hyperides eight years before,—charges for which he did not similarly prosecute H. then and for which he could not legally prosecute Dem. now. This is all an answer to διὰ τί; (which refers to § 223 (end)).—*τῶν οὕτω πραχθέντων*, *matters so settled* (as these charges against Dem.): see XXXVI. 60, *δικάζεσθαι τῶν οὕτω πραχθέντων*.

ἐφ' αὐτοῦ, πρὶν τι τούτων προλαβεῖν. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἦν, 225  
οἶμαι, τότε δ' νυνὶ ποιεῖν, ἐκ παλαιῶν χρόνων καὶ  
ψηφισμάτων πολλῶν ἐκλέξαντα ἃ μήτε προῆδει  
μηδεὶς μήτ' ἂν ᾤηθη τήμερον ῥηθῆναι, διαβάλλειν,  
καὶ μετενεγκόντα τοὺς χρόνους καὶ προφάσεις ἀντὶ 5  
τῶν ἀληθῶν ψευδεῖς μεταθέντα τοῖς πεπραγμένοις  
δοκεῖν τι λέγειν. οὐκ ἦν τότε ταῦτα, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῆς 226  
ἀληθείας, ἐγγὺς τῶν ἔργων, ἔτι μεμνημένων ὑμῶν καὶ  
μόνον οὐκ ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἕκαστ' ἐχόντων, πάντες  
ἐγίγνοντ' ἂν οἱ λόγοι. διόπερ τοὺς παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ  
πράγματ' ἐλέγχους φυγὼν νῦν ἡκεῖ, ῥητόρων ἀγῶνα 5  
νομίζων, ὥς γ' ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, καὶ οὐχὶ τῶν πεπολιτευμέ-  
νων ἐξέτασιν ποιήσειν ὑμᾶς, καὶ λόγου κρίσιν οὐχὶ  
τοῦ τῇ πόλει συμφέροντος ἔσεσθαι.

Εἰτα σοφίζεται, καὶ φησὶ προσήκειν ἥς μὲν οἶκο- 227

7. ἐφ' αὐτοῦ, on its own merits: i.e. before any judgment of the court had been passed upon the case.

§ 225. 2. δ' νυνὶ ποιεῖν: all MSS. except Σ have ποιεῖ for ποιεῖν.—παλαιῶν χρόνων: i.e. the time of the peace of Philocrates, about which Aeschines (III. 58—78) had cited many decrees which had no real bearing on the argument.

4. μήτ' ἂν...ῥηθῆναι, or thought would be mentioned to-day (ῥηθῆναι ἂν=ῥηθῆναι ἂν): see M.T. 220<sup>1</sup>. The negatives μήτε etc. show that the antecedent of ἃ is indefinite.—διαβάλλειν, to misrepresent (cast reproach upon) the case.

5. προφάσεις, grounds for action, whether true or false. See note on § 178<sup>12</sup>.

Demosthenes still clings to his plea that the story of the Peace of Philocrates is ancient history.

§ 226. 1. ἐπὶ τῆς ἀληθείας: cf. § 17<sup>2</sup>.

3. ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν: for the figure

Westermann compares *mani-festus*.—πάντες οἱ λόγοι, i.e. the whole discussion.

4. τοὺς...φυγὼν: cf. § 15<sup>2</sup>.

5. ῥητόρων ἀγῶνα: cf. Thuc. III. 67<sup>28</sup>, ποιήσατε δὲ τοῖς Ἕλλησι παράδειγμα οὐ λόγων τοὺς ἀγῶνας προθήσονται ἀλλ' ἔργων. Weil quotes XI. 217: οὐδὲ γὰρ ῥητόρων οὐδέ λόγων κρίσιν ὑμᾶς τήμερον...προσῆκει ποιεῖν.

7. λόγου...συμφέροντος: λόγου κρίσιν is a trial of eloquence. Cf. the verbal forms λόγον κρίνειν and τὸ τῇ πόλει συμφέρον κρίνειν.

With § 226 the orator ends his grand comparison (begun in § 139) between the part played by Aeschines in rousing the Amphissian war and his own part in uniting Athens and Thebes against Philip.

§§ 227—296. At § 226 the proper defence ends, with the account of the alliance with Thebes. The remainder of the speech, before the epilogue, is devoted to a reply to three arguments of Aeschines, one comparing this trial

θεν ἡκετ' ἔχοντες δόξης περὶ ἡμῶν ἀμελήσαι, ὥσπερ  
 δ', όταν οἰόμενοι περιεῖναι χρήματά τῳ λογιζήσθε, ἂν  
 καθαιρῶσιν αἱ ψῆφοι καὶ μηδὲν περιῇ, συγχωρεῖτε,  
 οὕτω καὶ νῦν τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ λόγου φαινομένοις προσθέ- 5  
 σθαι. θεάσασθε τοίνυν ὡς σαθρὸν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐστὶ  
 φύσει πᾶν ὃ τι ἂν μὴ δικαίως ἢ πεπραγμένον. ἐκ 228  
 γὰρ αὐτοῦ τοῦ σοφοῦ τούτου παραδείγματος ὁμο-  
 λόγηκε νῦν γ' ἡμᾶς ὑπάρχειν ἐγνωσμένους ἐμὲ μὲν  
 λέγειν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος, αὐτὸν δ' ὑπὲρ Φιλίπ-

an investigation of an account (§ 227—251), a second charging emosthenes with being ill-starred (§ 252—275), and a third charging m with being a crafty rhetorician (§ 276—296).

In §§ 227—251 the orator refers to the exhortation of Aeschines to the dges (59—61) to cast aside any prejudices in favour of Demosthenes which they may have, and to proceed as they would if they were examining a long account, prepared to accept any result which the reckoning may bring out. Aeschines refers here only to the facts concerning the peace of Philocrates; but emosthenes chooses to apply the marks to his whole political life. While Aeschines referred only to the bit side of the account, Demosthenes speaks of both sides, and especially of what stands on the credit side of his own account with the state, including credit for preventing calamities by his judicious policy. He ends (§ 251) by turning against Aeschines the case of Cephalus, which had been brought up against himself.

§ 227. 1. εἶτα σοφίζεται, then puts on airs of wisdom, or becomes very subtle, with the same sarcasm as σοφοῦ παραδείγματος, § 228<sup>2</sup>.

2. ἀμελήσαι, disregard: Aeschines

(III. 60) says, μήτ' ἀπογνώτω μηδὲν μήτε καταγνώτω πρὶν ἀκοῦσθαι.

3. περιεῖναι χρήματά τῳ, that one has a balance in his favour.—λογίζησθε: cf. Aesch. III. 59, καθεζώμεθα ἐπὶ τοὺς λογισμοὺς.—ἂν καθαιρῶσιν... περιῇ, if the counters are decisive and there is no balance remaining. With most recent editors, I follow Σ<sup>1</sup> and read καθαιρῶσιν, the common text having καθαρά ὦσιν, which was referred to the counters being cleared off from the abacus (ἀβαξ or ἀβάκιον): cf. § 231<sup>8</sup>. This was a reckoning-board, on which counters (originally ψῆφοι, pebbles) represented units, tens, etc., according to their position. See the article *Abacus* in Smith's Dict. of Ant. Aeschines says (§ 59), ἐπινεύσας ἀληθὲς εἶναι ὃ τι ἂν αὐτὸς ὁ λογισμὸς αἰρῇ, whatever the account proves (cf. αἰρεῖν τινα κλέπτοντα), and there is a strong presumption that Demosthenes uses a similar expression in his reply. Köchly quotes Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. VII. 36, ὃ τι δ' ἂν αἱ πλείους ψῆφοι καθαιρῶσι, τοῦτο ποιεῖν (and again, slightly changed, in 39): here the meaning determine is beyond question.

5. προσθέσθαι, acquiesce in: cf. προσθεμένην, § 203<sup>5</sup>.

7. ἢ πεπραγμένον: see § 178<sup>16</sup>, and note on § 178<sup>10</sup>.

§ 228. 3. ἡμᾶς (so Σ)...ἐγνω-

304 που· οὐ γὰρ ἂν μεταπείθην ὑμᾶς ἐξήτει μὴ τοιαύτης 5  
 οὔσης τῆς ὑπαρχούσης ὑπολήψεως περὶ ἐκατέρου.  
 καὶ μὴν ὅτι γ' οὐ δίκαια λέγει μεταθέσθαι ταύτην 229  
 τὴν δόξαν ἀξιῶν, ἐγὼ διδάξω ῥαδίως, οὐ τιθεὶς  
 ψήφους (οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ὁ τῶν πραγμάτων οὗτος  
 λογισμὸς), ἀλλ' ἀναμνησκῶν ἕκαστ' ἐν βραχεσί,  
 λογισταῖς ἅμα καὶ μάρτυσι τοῖς ἀκούουσιν ὑμῖν 5  
 χρώμενος. ἡ γὰρ ἐμὴ πολιτεία, ἥς οὗτος κατηγορεῖ,  
 ἀντὶ μὲν τοῦ Θηβαίους μετὰ Φιλίππου συνεμβαλεῖν  
 εἰς τὴν χώραν, ὃ πάντες ὥντο, μεθ' ἡμῶν παρὰ ταξα-  
 μένους ἐκείνον κωλύειν ἐποίησεν· ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ ἐν τῇ 230  
 Ἀττικῇ τὸν πόλεμον εἶναι, ἐπτακόσια στάδια ἀπὸ  
 τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ τοῖς Βοιωτῶν ὁρίοις γενέσθαι· ἀντὶ  
 δὲ τοῦ τοὺς ληστὰς ἡμᾶς φέρειν καὶ ἄγειν ἐκ τῆς  
 Εὐβοίας, ἐν εἰρήνῃ τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐκ θαλάττης εἶναι 5

σμένους, *that it is assumed that we* (Aesch. and myself) *have been thus judged* (have this reputation): in the direct form ὑπάρχομεν ἐγνωσμένοι. It appears that ἐγνωσμαι is always passive (see Veitch). The personal construction is like that of Ar. Nub. 918, γνῶσθήσεται τοί ποτ' Ἀθηναῖοις οἷα διδάσκει τοὺς ἀνοήτους, *you shall be shown* (for *it shall be shown*).

5. μὴ τοιαύτης οὔσης = εἰ μὴ τοιαύτη ᾗν. The unique reading of the Oxyrh. papyrus, μὴ τοιαύτης ὑπαρχούσης, is suggestive.

§ 229. 2. οὐ τιθεὶς ψήφους (continuing the figure of § 227), i.e. not by mere arithmetic or book-keeping.

3. οὐ γὰρ...λογισμὸς, *for that is not the way to reckon affairs of state.* οὗτος is predicate.

4. ἀναμνησκῶν ἕκαστ': he renders his account, not by setting his services against his sins, but by setting the positive gain from his public policy against the calamities which

would have resulted from the opposite policy.

5. λογισταῖς: in the double sense of *computers* and *comptrollers of accounts*: see note on § 117<sup>8</sup>.—τοῖς ἀκούουσιν: addressed equally to the court and the spectators.

7. μετὰ and συν- emphasize one another.

9. κωλύειν: present, of the whole business of checking Philip; the aor. συνεμβαλεῖν (7) of an incursion.

§ 230. 2. ἐπτακόσια στάδια, about 80 miles: see note on § 195<sup>6</sup>.

3. γενέσθαι: sc. ἐποίησε. By ὁρίοις he means the *further confines* of Boeotia.

4. ληστὰς: see note on § 145<sup>6</sup>, and for pirates in general [VII.] 3, 4, 14, 15. The rescue of Oëus and Eretria from Philip (§§ 79, 87) prevented Euboea from being a nest for plunderers.—φέρειν καὶ ἄγειν: the common term for general plundering.

5. ἐκ θαλάττης, *on the side of the sea*, with reference to ἐκ τῆς Εὐβοίας.

πάντα τὸν πόλεμον· ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον  
ἔχειν Φίλιππον, λαβόντα Βυζάντιον, συμπολεμεῖν  
τοὺς Βυζαντίους μεθ' ἡμῶν πρὸς ἐκείνους. ἀρὰ σοι 231  
ψήφοις ὅμοιος ὁ τῶν ἔργων λογισμὸς φαίνεται; ἢ  
δεῖν ἀντανελεῖν ταῦτα, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὅπως τὸν ἅπαντα  
χρόνον μνημονευθήσεται σκεῦεσθαι; καὶ οὐκέτι  
προστίθημι ὅτι τῆς μὲν ὁμότητος, ἣν ἐν οἷς καθάπαξ 5  
τινῶν κύριος κατέστη Φίλιππος ἔστιν ἰδεῖν, ἐτέροις  
πειραθῆναι συνέβη, τῆς δὲ φιλανθρωπίας, ἣν τὰ  
λοιπὰ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐκείνος περιβαλλόμενος  
ἐπλάττετο, ὑμεῖς καλῶς ποιοῦντες τοὺς καρποὺς  
κεκόμισθε. ἀλλ' ἐὼ ταῦτα.

10

Καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ ταῦτ' εἰπεῖν ὀκνήσω, ὅτι ὁ τὸν 232  
ῥήτορα βουλόμενος δικαίως ἐξετάζειν καὶ μὴ συκο-  
305 φαντεῖν οὐκ ἂν οἶα σὺ νῦν ἔλεγες τοιαῦτα κατηγορεῖ,

6. τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον: for the Hellespont and Byzantium in 340 B.C. see §§ 80, 87, 88, 93, 94, and Hist. §§ 53—55.

§ 231. 2. ψήφοις ὅμοιος, cf. κόμαι Χαρίτεσιν ὅμοιαι, II. XVII. 51.

3. ἀντανελεῖν ταῦτα, to strike these off (the services of § 230) in balancing the account, as ψῆφοι would be removed from the ἀβάκιον.

4. οὐκέτι προστίθημι, I do not go on (ἔτι) to add, i.e. to the credit side of the account.

5. ἐν οἷς...κατέστη: as in the cases of Olynthus, Thessaly, and Phocis.

7. φιλανθρωπίας: especially Philip's easy terms with Athens after Chaeronea, which were the indirect result of the firm and dignified attitude of Demosthenes and his friends. See Hist. § 68.

8. περιβαλλόμενος: the common figure of investing oneself with anything (like a garment), hence acquiring.

9. καλῶς ποιοῦντες, by the blessing of Heaven: cf. I. 28, ὡν καλῶς ποιοῦντες ἔχουσιν, and καλῶς ποιῶσι, XXI. 212. This phrase sometimes means *fortunately* (as here), approaching in sense the more common ἐὺ πράσσειν, to be prosperous: sometimes doing as one should, as in XXI. 2, καλῶς καὶ τὰ δίκαια ποιῶν ὁ δῆμος οὕτως ὠργίσθη, and LVII. 6, καλῶς ποιοῦντες τοὺς ἡδικημένους σεσώκατε. To show the distinction between καλῶς ποιῶν and ἐὺ πράσσειν, Dissen quotes XX. 110, ὅτε δ' ὑμεῖς καλῶς ποιῶντες...ἄμεινον ἐκείνων πράττετε. The active expressions ἐὺ ποιεῖν and κακῶς ποιεῖν are entirely distinct from καλῶς ποιεῖν.

§§ 232—241. We have here an account of the power of Athens under the leadership of Demosthenes, compared with her earlier resources.

§ 232. 3. τοιαῦτα: cognate (sc. κατηγορήματα).

4. παραδείγματα, like the illustration just discussed (§ 227): cf. § 228<sup>2</sup>.

παραδείγματα πλάττων καὶ ῥήματα καὶ σχήματα μιμούμενος (πάνυ γὰρ παρὰ τοῦτο—οὐχ ὅρας;— 5 γέγονε τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, εἰ τοῦτ' ἐπὶ τὸ ῥήμα ἀλλὰ μὴ τοῦτ' διελέχθη ἐγὼ, ἢ δευρὶ τὴν χεῖρα ἀλλὰ μὴ δευρὶ παρήνευκα), ἀλλ' ἐπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων ἂν 233 ἐσκόπει τίνας εἶχεν ἀφορμὰς ἢ πόλιν καὶ τίνας δυνάμεις, ὅτ' εἰς τὰ πράγματα εἰσέλθῃ, καὶ τίνας συνήγαγον αὐτῇ μετὰ ταῦτ' ἐπιστάς ἐγὼ, καὶ πῶς εἶχε τὰ τῶν ἐναντίων. εἴτ' εἰ μὲν ἐλάττους ἐποίησα τὰς δυνάμεις, 5 παρ' ἐμοὶ τὰ δίκημ' ἂν ἐδείκνυνεν ὄν, εἰ δὲ πολλῶν μείζους, οὐκ ἂν ἐσυκοφάντει. ἐπειδὴ δὲ σὺ τοῦτο πέφευγας, ἐγὼ ποιήσω· καὶ σκοπεῖτε εἰ δικαίως χρήσομαι τῷ λόγῳ.

Δύναμιν μὲν τοίνυν εἶχεν ἡ πόλις τοὺς νησιώτας. 234 οὐχ ἅπαντας, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἀσθνεστάτους· οὔτε γὰρ

—ῥήματα...μιμούμενος: besides the expressions (ῥήματα) repeated by Aeschines (probably with no little exaggeration) in III. 166, of which he asks (167), ταῦτα δὲ τί ἐστίν, ὦ κίναδος; ῥήματα ἢ θαύματα; we have in 209, ποῖ φύγω, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι; περιγράψατέ με· οὐκ ἐστὶν ὅποι ἀναπτέσσομαι, quoted from Demosthenes. See other quotations in III. 71 and 72, especially ἀπορρήξει τῆς εἰρήνης τὴν συμμαχίαν. Imitations of gestures (σχήματα) are, of course, harder to detect; but there is a plain one in III. 167, κύκλω περιδινὼν σεαυτὸν.

5. παρὰ τοῦτο γέγονε, depend on this. See Cic. Orat. 8, 27: itaque se purgans iocatur Demosthenes: negat in eo positas esse fortunas Graciae, hoc an illo verbo usus sit, et huc an illuc manum porrexerit.—οὐχ ὅρας; cf. § 266<sup>7</sup>.

6. μὴ τοῦτ': in the second member of an alternative indirect question, μὴ can be used as well as οὐ. (G. 1609.)

§ 233. 1. ἐπ'...ἔργων: cf. ἐπὶ τῆς ἀληθείας, § 226<sup>1</sup>.

2. ἀφορμὰς, means (for war): ἀφορμή is properly a starting-point, or something to set out from (ἀφ' ὧν τις ὁρμᾶται), as in Thuc. I. 90, τῇν τε Πελοπόννησον πᾶσιν ἔφασαν ἱκανὴν εἶναι ἀναχώρησιν τε καὶ ἀφορμὴν.—δυνάμεις: here in the same general sense as δόναμιν in § 234<sup>1</sup>.

3. ὅτ'...εἰσέλθῃ: before the renewal of the war in 340 B.C. Cf. § 60<sup>4</sup>.

8. εἰ...λόγῳ: cf. § 252<sup>9</sup>, and XXIII. 24, ὡς ἀπλῶς καὶ δικαίως χρήσομαι τῷ λόγῳ.

§ 234. 1. δύναμιν here refers to sources of military power, like allies, even when no actual troops are included: see ὁπλίτην δ', ἱππέα οὐδένα (5). Both δυνάμεις and δύναμις, however, may denote troops: cf. § 237<sup>6</sup>, τῶν πολιτικῶν δυνάμεων, and 247<sup>5</sup>; so Xen. An. I. 3, 12 ἔχει δύναμιν καὶ πεζὴν καὶ ἱππικὴν καὶ ναυτικὴν.

2. οὔτε...ἤν: this refers to the early part of 340 B.C., when Chios

Χίος οὔτε Ῥόδος οὔτε Κέρκυρα μεθ' ἡμῶν ἦν· χρημάτων δὲ σύνταξιν εἰς πέντε καὶ τετταράκοντα τάλαντα, καὶ ταῦτ' ἦν προεξειλεγμένα· ὀπλίτην δ', 5 ἱππέα πλὴν τῶν οἰκείων οὐδένα. ὁ δὲ πάντων καὶ φοβερώτατον καὶ μάλισθ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν, οὗτοι παρεσκευάκεσαν τοὺς περιχώρους πάντας ἔχθρας ἢ φιλίας ἐγγυτέρω, Μεγαρέας, Θηβαίους, Εὐβοέας. τὰ 235 μὲν τῆς πόλεως οὕτως ὑπῆρχεν ἔχοντα, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἂν ἔχοι παρὰ ταῦτ' εἰπεῖν ἄλλ' οὐδέν· τὰ δὲ τοῦ Φιλίππου, πρὸς ὃν ἦν ἡμῖν ὁ ἀγὼν, σκέψασθε πῶς, πρῶτον μὲν ἦρχε τῶν ἀκολουθούντων αὐτὸς αὐτο- 5 κράτωρ, ὁ τῶν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον μέγιστόν ἐστιν ἀπάντων· εἴθ' οὗτοι τὰ ὅπλ' εἶχον ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν αἰεὶ· ἔπειτα χρημάτων εὐπόρει, καὶ ἔπραττεν ἂ 306 δόξειεν αὐτῷ, οὐ προλέγων ἐν τοῖς ψηφίσμασιν,

and Rhodes were independent of Athens as the result of the Social War (357—355 B.C.), but Byzantium, which then followed Chios and Rhodes, had already renewed her friendship (§ 230<sup>7</sup>): see Hist. §§ 2, 51. Corcyra, the old friend and ally of Athens, had become hostile to her before 353 B.C. (see XXIV. 202).

4. **χρημάτων σύνταξιν**: the payment of the original assessment made on the Delian confederacy by Aristides in 478—477 B.C. was first called *φόρος* from *φέρω*, as Thucydides explains it, *οὕτω γὰρ ἀνομάσθη τῶν χρημάτων ἡ φόρα*. The First Athenian Empire made the name odious, so that, when the new federation was formed in 378, the term *σύνταξις*, *agreement*, was adopted for the annual payment.—**πέντε καὶ τετταράκοντα τάλαντα**: this sorry amount of 45 talents shows the decline of the power of Athens after the Social War. The original tribute of 460 talents was raised to 600 under Pericles (Thuc. II. 13<sup>29</sup>), and (if we

may trust Aesch. II. 175 and Plut. Arist. 24) to 1200 or 1300 after the Peace of Nicias, in large part by the allies commuting personal service for payments of money (Thuc. I. 99).

5. **προεξειλεγμένα**, collected in advance, probably by generals to pay their mercenaries. Aeschines (II. 71) speaks of *τοὺς περὶ τὸ βῆμα καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν μισθοφόρους*, οἱ τοὺς μὲν *ταλαιπώρους νησιώτας καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ἐξήκοντα τάλαντα εἰσέπραττον σύνταξιν*.—**ὀπλίτην δ', ἱππέα**: so Σ and L; cf. § 94<sup>6</sup>.

7. **οὗτοι**: Aeschines and his party.

8. **παρεσκευάκεσαν... ἐγγυτέρω**; cf. *τοὺς θεοὺς ἱλασε αὐτῷ παρασκευάζειν*, Plat. Leg. 803 E.

§ 235. 2. **οὕτως ὑπῆρχεν ἔχοντα**, i.e. *this is what we had to depend on*.

9. **οὐ προλέγων... βουλευόμενος**: two important advantages of a despotism in war. Athens is not the last free state which has suffered from the opposite evils. With this whole passage compare § 249 and I. 4.

οὐδ' ἐν τῷ φανερῷ βουλευόμενος, οὐδ' ὑπὸ τῶν ἰο-  
συκοφαντούντων κρινόμενος, οὐδὲ γραφὰς φεύγων  
παρανόμων, οὐδ' ὑπεύθυνος ὦν οὐδενί, ἀλλ' ἀπλῶς  
αὐτὸς δεσπότης, ἡγεμὼν, κύριος πάντων. ἐγὼ δ' ὁ 236  
πρὸς τοῦτον ἀντιτεταγμένος (καὶ γὰρ τοῦτ' ἐξετάσαι  
δίκαιον) τίνας κύριος ἦν; οὐδενός· αὐτὸ γὰρ τὸ δη-  
μηγορεῖν πρῶτον, οὐ μόνου μετεῖχον ἐγὼ, ἐξ ἴσου  
προϋτίθεθ' ὑμεῖς τοῖς παρ' ἐκείνου μισθαρνοῦσι καὶ 5  
ἐμοί, καὶ ὅς' οὗτοι περιγένοιτ' ἐμοῦ (πολλὰ δ'  
ἐγίγνετο ταῦτα, δι' ἣν ἕκαστον τύχοι πρόφασιν),  
ταῦθ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀπῆτε βεβουλευμένοι. ἀλλ' 237  
ὅμως ἐκ τοιούτων ἐλαττωμάτων ἐγὼ συμμάχους μὲν  
ὑμῖν ἐποίησα Εὐβοέας, Ἀχαιοὺς, Κορινθίους, Θη-  
βαίους, Μεγαρέας, Λευκαδίους, Κερκυραίους, ἀφ' ὧν  
μύριοι μὲν καὶ πεντακισχίλιοι ξένοι, δισχιλίοι δ' 5  
ἰππεῖς, ἀνευ τῶν πολιτικῶν δυνάμεων, <sup>ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει</sup> συνέχθησαν.  
χρημάτων δ' ὅσων ἐδυνήθην ἐγὼ πλείστην συντέ-  
λειαν ἐποίησα. εἰ δὲ λέγεις ἢ τὰ πρὸς Θηβαίους 238

§ 236. 4. *πρῶτον*, to begin with: cf. XX. 54, ὁ λόγος πρῶτον αἰσχροῦς.—*μετεῖχον*: *μετ-* implies the *sharing* of the right which the preceding clause states.

5. *προϋτίθεθ'*, offered (see § 273<sup>3</sup>): cf. IV. 1, εἰ προϋτίθετο λέγειν.

6. *ὅς'... περιγένοιτ' ἐμοῦ*, i.e. *as often as they got the better of me*. The omitted antecedent of *ὅς'* appears in ταῦθ' (8).

7. *τύχοι* (M.T. 532): sc. *γεγόμενον*.

8. *ταῦθ'—βεβουλευμένοι*, i.e. *just so often had you taken counsel in the enemy's interest when you left the Assembly*: ταῦθ' (cognate with βεβουλευμένοι) are the βουλευματα in which περιγένοιτ' ἐμοῦ, and these counsels you always took in the enemy's interest. Cf. Thuc. II. 44<sup>16</sup>, ἴσον τι ἢ δίκαιον (sc. βούλευμα) βουλευέσθαι.

§ 237. 2. *ἐκ τοιούτων ἐλαττωμάτων*, i.e. with such disadvantages at the outset.—*συμμάχους... ἐποίησα*: this refers to the grand league against Philip, formed early in 340 B.C. by Demosthenes and Callias of Chalcis. See Hist. § 51 (end). For the Euboeans see § 79 (above): for the Euboeans, Peloponnesians, and Acarnanians see Aesch. III. 95—97.

5. *μύριοι καὶ πεντακισχίλιοι*: this includes the Theban forces, which were added a year after the league was formed.

6. *πολιτικῶν*, citizen soldiers (of the various states).

7. *συντέλειαν*: this term was applied to the contributions of the new league, rather than *σύνταξις* (Aesch. III. 97) calls them *σ*

§ 238. The orator he with great effect once o

δίκαια, Αἰσχίνη, ἢ τὰ πρὸς Βυζαντίους ἢ τὰ πρὸς  
 Εὐβοέας, ἢ περὶ τῶν ἴσων νυνὶ διαλέγει, πρῶτον μὲν  
 ἀγνοεῖς ὅτι καὶ πρότερον τῶν ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων  
 ἐκείνων ἀγωνισαμένων τριήρων, τριακοσίων οὐσῶν 5  
 τῶν πασῶν, τὰς διακοσίας ἢ πόλιν παρέσχετο, καὶ  
 οὐκ ἐλάττωσθαι νομίζουσα οὐδὲ κρίνουσα τοὺς ταῦτα  
 συμβουλευσάντας οὐδ' ἀγανακτοῦσ' ἐπὶ τούτοις ἑω-  
 ρᾶτο (αἰσχροὺς γὰρ), ἀλλὰ τοῖς θεοῖς ἔχουσα χάριν,  
 εἰ κοινὸν κινδύνου τοῖς Ἑλλησι περιστάντος αὐτῇ 10  
 διπλάσια τῶν ἄλλων εἰς τὴν ἀπάντων σωτηρίαν  
 παρέσχετο. εἶτα κενὰς χαρίζει χάριτας τουτοισί  
 7 συκοφαντῶν ἐμέ. τί γὰρ νῦν λέγεις οἳ ἔχρην πρᾶτ- 239  
 τειν, ἀλλ' οὐ τότε ὦν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ παρὼν ταῦτ'  
 ἔγραφες, εἴπερ ἐνεδέχετο παρὰ τοὺς παρόντας και-  
 ροὺς, ἐν οἷς οὐχ ὅσ' ἡβουλόμεθα ἀλλ' ὅσα δοῖη τὰ  
 πράγματ' ἔδει δέχεσθαι. ὁ γὰρ ἀντωνούμενος καὶ 5

lucky blunders of Aeschines (143); at of charging him with imposing *two-thirds* of the expense of the war on Athens, and only one-third on thebes. Aeschines had forgotten the fleet at Salamis, of which Athens furnished *two-thirds*!

1, 2. τὰ δίκαια, *our rights*.

4. καὶ πρότερον, i.e. *once also in former days*.

5, 6. τριακοσίων, διακοσίας: the numbers of the ships at Salamis are variously given; but nearly all agree in making the Athenian fleet about *two-thirds* of the whole. Aeschylus, who was in the battle, is our best authority when (Pers. 339) he gives the total as 310, and Demosthenes early agrees with him. Herodotus III. 1, 44, 48, 61) gives the total as 378 (the items giving 366), the Athenians having 200, of which they sent 20 to the Chalcidians. The Athenian orator in Thucydides (1.

74<sup>6</sup>) gives the total as 400 and the Athenian ships as *nearly two-thirds*.

7. ἐλάττωσθαι, *that they had less than their rights*.

9. αἰσχροὺς: sc. ἂν ἦν.—ἔχουσα goes with ἑωρᾶτο like the preceding νομίζουσα, κρίνουσα, and ἀγανακτοῦσ'.

§ 239. 2. παρὼν, i.e. in the Assembly, as Aesch. regularly was: see § 273<sup>1</sup>.

3. εἴπερ ἐνεδέχετο: sc. ταῦτα γράφειν.—παρὰ...καιροῦς, *in the crises through which we were then living*.

4. οὐχ ὅσ'...πράγματ', *not all that we wanted (continuously), but all that circumstances (on each occasion) allowed us (M.T. 532)*. οὐχ ὅσα βουλόμεθα would have meant *not all that we wanted in each case*.

5. ἀντωνούμενος (conative), *bid- ding against us (trying to buy)*. Cf. § 247<sup>6</sup>.

θρωπος ούτοςι, οὐκ ἂν ἀπέθανεν. ἐμβρόντητε, εἴτα νῦν λέγεις ;

Οὐ τοίνυν οὐδὲ τὴν ἤτταν, εἰ ταύτη γαυριῆς ἐφ' ἣ 244  
στένειν σε, ὃ κατάρατε, προσῆκεν, ἐν οὐδενὶ τῶν  
παρ' ἐμοὶ γεγонуῖαν εὐρήσετε τῇ πόλει. οὕτωςι δὲ  
λογίζεσθε. οὐδαμοῦ πώποθ', ὅποι πρεσβευτῆς ἐπέμ-  
φθην ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἐγὼ, ἡττηθεὶς ἀπῆλθον τῶν παρὰ 5  
φιλιππου πρέσβων, οὐκ ἐκ Θετταλίας οὐδ' ἐξ  
'Αμβρακίας, οὐκ ἐξ Ἰλλυριῶν οὐδὲ παρὰ τῶν Θρακῶν  
βασιλέων, οὐκ ἐκ Βυζαντίου, οὐκ ἄλλοθεν οὐδαμόθεν,  
οὐ τὰ τελευταῖ' ἐκ Θηβῶν· ἀλλ' ἐν οἷς κρατηθεῖεν οἱ  
πρέσβεις αὐτοῦ τῷ λόγῳ, ταῦτα τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐπιὼν 10  
κατεστρέφετο. ταῦτ' οὖν ἀπαιτεῖς παρ' ἐμοῦ, καὶ 245  
οὐκ αἰσχύνει τὸν αὐτὸν εἰς τε μαλακίαν σκώπτων  
καὶ τῆς Φιλιππου δυνάμεως ἀξιῶν ἐν' ὄντα κρείττω  
γενέσθαι ; καὶ ταῦτα τοῖς λόγοις ; τίνος γὰρ ἄλλου  
κύριος ἦν ἐγὼ ; οὐ γὰρ τῆς γ' ἐκάστου ψυχῆς, οὐδὲ 5

noun emphatically points out a present person or thing; as Plat. Gorg. 489 B, οὗτοςι ἀνὴρ οὐ παύσεται φλυαρῶν, and 505 C, οὗτος ἀνὴρ οὐχ ὑπομένει ὠφελούμενος: see Thuc. I. 51<sup>6</sup>, νῆες ἐκεῖναί ἐπιπλέονσι, *yonder are ships sailing up*.

7. ἐμβρόντητε, *thunderstruck, stupefied by βροντή*: cf. ἐμβρονησθαι, XIX. 231. For the relation of these words to τετόφωμαι see note on § 11<sup>6</sup>.

8. εἴτα νῦν λέγεις; see note on I. § 244. 1. τὴν ἤτταν: still having in mind the figure of the reckoning (§ 227), he now argues that the chief item which his enemies place on the debit side, the defeat of Chaeronea, cannot justly be charged to him (cf. λογίζεσθε in 4).

2. τῶν παρ' ἐμοῦ, *of what I was responsible for*.

4. ὅποι ἐπέμφθην: for the difference between this and ὅποι πεμφθείην

in § 45 (referring to the same thing), and for ἐν οἷς κρατηθεῖεν (9), see note on § 45<sup>2</sup>. Little is known of any of these embassies of Demosthenes except those to Byzantium (§§ 87—89) and Thebes (§ 211 ff.).

10. ὅπλοις κατεστρέφετο, i.e. he decided these cases by throwing his sword into the scale.

§ 245. 1. ταῦτ' ἀπαιτεῖς, *you call me to account for these* (§ 244<sup>17</sup>).

2. εἰς μαλακίαν: West. cites Aesch. III. 148, 152, 155, and 175. In these Demosthenes is ridiculed for having run away at Chaeronea, when the whole allied army was put to flight. Aeschines is never charged with this; but he was probably not in the battle at all, being over fifty years old. Probably Demosthenes refers also to the nickname Βάτταλος: see note on § 180<sup>3</sup>.

5. τῆς ψυχῆς, *the life*.

τῆς τύχης τῶν παραταξαμένων, οὐδὲ τῆς στρατηγίας, ἧς ἔμ' ἀπαιτεῖς εὐθύνας· οὕτω σκαιὸς εἶ. ἀλλὰ μὴν 246  
 ὦν γ' ἂν ὁ ῥήτωρ ὑπεύθυνος εἴη, πᾶσαν ἐξέτασιν  
 λαμβάνετε· οὐ παραιτοῦμαι. τίνα οὖν ἐστὶ ταῦτα;  
 ἰδεῖν τὰ πράγματ' ἀρχόμενα καὶ προαισθῆσθαι καὶ  
 προειπεῖν τοῖς ἄλλοις, ταῦτα πέπρακται μοι. καὶ 5  
 ἔτι τὰς ἐκασταχοῦ βραδυτήτας, ὀκνοῦς, ἀγνοίας, φι-  
 19 λονεικίας, ἃ πολιτικὰ ταῖς πόλεσι πρόσεστιν ἀπά-  
 σαις καὶ ἀναγκαῖ' ἀμαρτήματα, ταῦθ' ὡς εἰς ἐλάχιστα  
 συστέλλαι, καὶ τὸναντίον εἰς ὁμόνοιαν καὶ φιλίαν  
 καὶ τοῦ τὰ δέοντα ποιεῖν ὁρμὴν προτρέψαι. καὶ 10  
 ταῦτά μοι πάντα πεποιήται, καὶ οὐδεὶς μήποθ' εὖρη  
 κατ' ἐμέ οὐδὲν ἔλλειφθέν. εἰ τοίνυν τις ἔροιθ' ὄντιν- 247  
 οὖν τίσι τὰ πλείστα Φίλιππος ὦν κατέπραξε διφ-  
 κήσατο, πάντες ἂν εἴποιεν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ καὶ τῷ  
 μάναγείῳ

6. τῶν παραταξαμένων, *the combatants*: §§ 208<sup>5</sup>, 216<sup>5</sup>.

7. εὐθύνας: used metaphorically. σκαιὸς, *awkward* (mentally): cf. 120<sup>4</sup>.

§ 246. 3. λαμβάνετε: plural, as he turns suddenly from Aeschines the whole assembly.

4. ἰδεῖν...ἀρχόμενα κ.τ.λ.: no one can read the earlier orations of Demosthenes in the light of later events without feeling the justice of this aim to sagacity which he puts forward. He, indeed, of all the statesmen of Athens, saw things in their ginnings, and steadily warned the people of the coming danger.

7. πολιτικὰ ταῖς πόλεσι, *inherent (free) governments*: a striking case of a favourite Greek form of emphasis, which repeats the idea of a noun in an adjective. Here: the whole idea could have been expressed either by πολιτικά or by οἰκεία ταῖς πόλεσι; but is made doubly strong by πολιτικὰ εἰς πόλεσι. The Greek constantly

emphasizes by what we should call tautology, as in the repetition of negatives. In Aeschyl. Ag. 56, οἰωνόθροον γόον ὀξυβόαν, the whole idea could have been expressed by οἰωνῶν γόον ὀξύν, *shrill cry of birds*, but the idea of *cry* is added in both adjectives. πόλεσι here has the same reference to free governments which is usually implied in πολιτεία (see note on § 65<sup>3</sup>): cf. Soph. Ant. 737, πόλις γὰρ οὐκ ἔσθ' ἥτις ἀνδρός ἔσθ' ἐνός. With the whole passage cf. §§ 235, 236.

8. ὡς belongs to εἰς ἐλάχιστα, *into the smallest possible compass*: see § 288<sup>5</sup>.

9. συστέλλαι, *to contract*: συστέλλω sometimes means *to shorten sail*, as in Ar. Ran. 999; cf. Eq. 432, συστέλλας τοὺς ἀλλαντας.

11. πεποιήται: in the same sense as πέπρακται (§5): see note on § 4<sup>5</sup>.

12. κατ' ἐμέ: most MSS. (not Σ and L<sup>1</sup>) have τὸ κατ' ἐμέ, as in § 247<sup>11</sup>.

§ 247. 3, 4. τῷ διδόναι, *by making gifts*.

διδόναι καὶ διαφθείρειν τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων. οὐκοῦν τῶν μὲν δυνάμεων οὔτε κύριος οὐθ' ἡγεμὼν ἦν 5 ἐγὼ, ὥστε οὐδ' ὁ λόγος τῶν κατὰ ταῦτα πραχθέντων πρὸς ἐμέ. καὶ μὴν τῷ διαφθαρῆναι χρήμασιν ἢ μὴ κεκράτηκα Φίλιππον· ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ ὠνούμενος νενίκηκε τὸν λαβόντα ἔαν πρίηται, οὕτως ὁ μὴ λαβὼν καὶ διαφθαρεὶς νενίκηκε τὸν ὠνούμενον. ὥστε ἀήτ- 10 τητος ἢ πόλις τὸ κατ' ἐμέ.

Ἄ μὲν τοίνυν ἐγὼ παρεσχόμην εἰς τὸ δικαίως 248 τοιαῦτα γράφειν τοῦτον περὶ ἐμοῦ, πρὸς πολλοῖς ἑτέροις ταῦτα καὶ παραπλήσια τοῦτοις ἐστίν· ἃ δ' οἱ πάντες ὑμεῖς, ταῦτ' ἤδη λέξω. μετὰ γὰρ τὴν μάχην εὐθύς ὁ δῆμος, εἰδὼς καὶ ἑορακὼς πάνθ' ὅς' ἔπραττον 5 ἐγὼ, ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς δεινοῖς καὶ φοβεροῖς ἐμβεβηκῶς, ἡνίκ' οὐδ' ἀγνωμονῆσαι τι θαυμαστὸν ἦν τοὺς πολ- λούς πρὸς ἐμέ, πρῶτον μὲν περὶ σωτηρίας τῆς πόλεως

5. δυνάμεων, referring to στρατο-πέδω (3): see note on § 234<sup>1</sup>.

6. ταῦτα (i.e. δυνάμεις): cf. κατὰ τὴν στρατηγίαν (§ 212<sup>8</sup>).

7. τῷ διαφθαρῆναι ἢ μὴ, in the matter of being corrupted or not, far more expressive than τῷ μὴ διαφθαρῆναι. This corresponds to τῶν μὲν δυνάμεων, in place of a clause with δέ. Cf. XIX. 4, and 7, ὑπὲρ γε τοῦ προῖκα ἢ μὴ.

8. ὁ ὠνούμενος: conative, *he who would buy*. Cf. § 239<sup>5</sup>.

9. ὁ μὴ λαβὼν καὶ διαφθαρεὶς (Σ, L<sup>1</sup>) = *ὅς μὴ ἔλαβε καὶ διεφθάρη*, better than *μηδὲ διαφθαρεὶς* (vulg.), as it more closely unites the corruption with the bribe, *he who refused to take the bribe and be corrupted*.

§ 248. 1. εἰς τὸ...τοῦτον, i.e. to justify Ctesiphon's language in his decree: see § 57<sup>1</sup>.

3. οἱ πάντες ὑμεῖς: sc. παρέσχεθε.

6. ἐμβεβηκῶς, *standing amid, surrounded by*: βέβηκα, *stand*, is related to ἵσταμαι as γέγονα to εἶμι and κέκτημαι to ἔχω.

7. ἡνίκ' οὐδ'...πρὸς ἐμέ, i.e. *when most men might have shown some want of feeling towards me without surprising anyone*: this rather awkward translation shows the force of the construction of θαυμαστὸν ἦν (without *ἄν*) and the infinitive, where the chief potential force falls on the infinitive. (See M.T. 415, 416, and Appendix v. p. 406.) We naturally (but incorrectly) translate *when it would have been no wonder*, throwing the chief force on θαυμαστὸν ἦν, so that *ἄν* seems necessary: Blass reads οὐδ' *ἄν*. For a similar case see Eur. Med. 490, εἰ γὰρ ἦσθ' ἄπαις, συγγνωστὸν ἦν σοι τοῦδ' ἐρασθῆναι λέχους, i.e. *in that case you might pardonably have been enamoured*: see M.T. 422<sup>1</sup>.

τὰς ἐμὰς γνώμας ἐχειροτόνει, καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα τῆς φυλακῆς ἕνεκ' ἐπράττετο, ἡ διάταξις τῶν φυλάκων, 10 αἱ τάφροι, τὰ εἰς τὰ τείχη χρήματα, διὰ τῶν ἐμῶν ψηφισμάτων ἐγίγνετο· ἔπειθ' αἰρούμενος σιτώνην ἐκ πάντων ἐμ' ἐχειροτόνησεν ὁ δῆμος. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα 249 συστάντων οἷς ἦν ἐπιμελὲς κακῶς ἐμὲ ποιεῖν, καὶ γραφὰς, εὐθύνας, εἰσαγγελίας, πάντα ταῦτ' ἐπαγόντων μοι, οὐ δι' ἑαυτῶν τό γε πρῶτον, ἀλλὰ δι' ὧν μάλισθ' ὑπελάμβανον ἀγνοήσεσθαι (ἴστε γὰρ δήπου 5 καὶ μέμνησθ' ὅτι τοὺς πρῶτους χρόνους κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκάστην ἐκρινόμην ἐγὼ, καὶ οὐτ' ἀπόνοια Σωσικλέους οὔτε συκοφαντία Φιλοκράτους οὔτε Διώνδου καὶ Μελάντου μανία οὐτ' ἄλλ' οὐδὲν ἀπεί-

9. τὰς ἐμὰς γνώμας, *my proposals* of public measures: this and the following πάνθ' ὅσα...ἐπράττετο do not include such general measures for the public safety as the famous decree of Hyperides for the enfranchisement of slaves, the recall of exiles, and similar extreme provisions (see Hist. § 67).

10. ἡ διάταξις τῶν φυλάκων: see Thuc. II. 24, φυλακὰς κατεστήσαντο κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν, ὥσπερ δὴ ἐμελλόν δια παντὸς τοῦ πολέμου φυλάξειν.

11. τάφροι...τείχη: this has nothing to do with the more elaborate work on the walls undertaken in the following year, when Demosthenes was *τειχοποιός* (§ 113<sup>6</sup>).

12. σιτώνην, an extraordinary official appointed in special times of distress to regulate the trade in grain and to guard against scarcity. The grain trade was ordinarily in the charge of 35 *σιτοφύλακες* (20 in the city, 15 in the Piræus): see Arist. Pol. Ath. 51<sup>8</sup>.

§ 249. 1. μετὰ ταῦτα, i.e. after the first excitement, when Philip's party gained courage at Athens.

2. συστάντων: gen. absol. with the implied antecedent of οἷς.

3. γραφὰς: here in the most restricted sense of *ordinary public suits*, excluding *εἰσαγγελία*, *εὐθυναί*, etc. The chief form of *γραφή* here would be the *γραφὴ παρανόμων* (§ 250<sup>5</sup>).—πάντα ταῦτ': emphatic apposition, *all these, I say*.

4. οὐ δι' ἑαυτῶν, *not in their own names*: at first the leading philippizers kept in the background, and put forward such obscure men as those mentioned below.

7—9. ἀπόνοια, *μανία*: "the first is the deliberate desperation of a man with nothing to lose, the last the desperation of blind passion" (Simcox).—Σωσικλέους...Μελάντου: Soicles and Melantus are otherwise unknown; for Diondas see § 222<sup>6</sup>; Philocrates is not the one who gave his name to the peace of 346 B.C. (he disappears after he was condemned on the *εἰσαγγελία* brought by Hyperides, XIX. 116), but an Eleusinian (XXV. 44). The imitation of this passage by Cicero (Cat. III. 7) is familiar: *hoc providebam animo, ...nec mihi P. Lentuli somnum, nec*

ρατον ἦν τούτοις κατ' ἐμοῦ), ἐν τοίνυν τούτοις πᾶσι 10  
 μάλιστα μὲν διὰ τοὺς θεοὺς, δεῦτερον δὲ δι' ὑμᾶς καὶ  
 τοὺς ἄλλους Ἀθηναίους ἐσφζόμην. δικαίως· τοῦτο  
 γὰρ καὶ ἀληθές ἐστι καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὁμωμοκότων καὶ  
 γνόντων τὰ εὖορκα δικαστῶν. οὐκοῦν ἐν μὲι οἷς 250  
 εἰσηγγελλόμεν, ὅτ' ἀπεψηφίζεσθέ μου καὶ τὸ μέρος  
 τῶν ψήφων τοῖς διώκουσιν οὐ μετεδίδοτε, τότ' ψηφί-  
 ζεσθε τᾶριστά με πράττειν· ἐν οἷς δὲ τὰς γραφὰς  
 ἀπέφευγον, ἔννομα καὶ γράφειν καὶ λέγειν ἀπεδεικνύ- 5  
 μην· ἐν οἷς δὲ τὰς εὐθύνas ἐπεσημαίνεσθε, δικαίως  
 καὶ ἀδωροδοκῆτως πάντα πεπρᾶχθαί μοι προσωμο-  
 λογεῖτε. τούτων οὖν οὕτως ἐχόντων, τί προσῆκον ἢ  
 τί δίκαιον ἦν τοῖς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ πεπραγμένοις θέσθαι τὸν  
 Κτησιφῶντα ὄνομα; οὐχ ὁ τὸν δῆμον ἑώρα τιθέμενον, 10  
 οὐχ ὁ τοὺς ὁμωμοκότας δικαστὰς, οὐχ ὁ τὴν ἀλήθειαν  
 παρὰ πᾶσι βεβαιούσαν;

L. Cassii adipēs, nec Cethegi furiosam temeritatem pertimescendam.

11. δι' ὑμᾶς, i.e. through the courts.

13. ἀληθές, in accordance with truth.—ὑπὲρ...δικαστῶν, to the credit of judges, etc.

14. γνόντων τὰ εὖορκα, who (not only had sworn, but) gave judgment in accordance with their oaths.

§ 250. 1. ἐν οἷς εἰσηγγελλόμεν (cf. ἐν οἷς ἡμάρτανον, § 19<sup>3</sup>). The εἰσαγγελία was partly a state prosecution, which was first brought before the Senate (rarely before the Assembly). If the Senate accepted the εἰσαγγελία, it referred the case to the Heliastic court for trial, unless it settled it by inflicting a fine not exceeding 500 drachmas.

2. τὸ μέρος τῶν ψήφων: cf. §§ 103<sup>2</sup>, 266<sup>5</sup>. A comparison of Hyperides (Lycoph. 8), διὰ τὸ ἀκίνδυνον αὐτοῖς εἶναι τὸν ἀγῶνα, with Lycurgus (Leocr. 3), τὸν ἰδίῳ κινδυνεύοντα,

and Pollux (VIII. 52, 53), shows that in earlier times no penalty was inflicted on the εἰσαγγέλλον who failed to get one-fifth of the votes, but that afterwards he was subject to the fine without the ἀτιμία.

4. τᾶριστά με πράττειν: i.e. the judgment of the court justified this expression in Ctesiphon's decree (§ 57<sup>1</sup>).

5. ἔννομα γράφειν: opposed to παράνομα γράφειν: see note on γραφὰς, § 249<sup>3</sup>.

6. τὰς εὐθύνas ἐπεσημαίνεσθε, put your seal on my accounts: this probably refers to the official seal of the δικαστήριον before which Demosth. appeared to render his accounts (εἰθυναί) at the end of each term of office. See Aristotle, Pol. Ath. 48<sup>18</sup>, 54<sup>6</sup>.

10. τὸν δῆμον τιθέμενον: this repeated approval of the people refers to the votes mentioned in § 248.

11. δικαστὰς: sc. τιθεμένων. The present judges are addressed

Ναί, φησὶν, ἀλλὰ τὸ τοῦ Κεφάλου καλὸν, τὸ 251  
 μηδεμίαν γραφὴν φεύγειν. καὶ ἢ Δί' εὐδαιμόν γε.  
 311 ἀλλὰ τί μᾶλλον ὁ πολλάκις μὲν φυγὼν μηδεπώποτε  
 δ' ἐξελεγχθεὶς ἀδικῶν ἐν ἐγκλήματι γίγνοιτ' ἂν διὰ  
 τοῦτο δικαίως; καίτοι πρὸς γε τοῦτον, ἄνδρες Ἀθη- 5  
 ναῖοι, καὶ τὸ τοῦ Κεφάλου καλὸν εἰπεῖν ἔστι μοι.  
 οὐδεμίαν γὰρ πώποτ' ἐγράψατό με οὐδ' ἐδίωξε  
 γραφὴν, ὥστε ὑπὸ σοῦ γ' ὁμολόγημαι μηδὲν εἶναι  
 τοῦ Κεφάλου χείρων πολίτης.

Πανταχόθεν μὲν τοίνυν ἂν τις ἴδοι τὴν ἀγνω- 252  
 μοσύνην αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν βασκανίαν, οὐχ ἥκιστα δ'  
 ἀφ' ὧν περὶ τῆς τύχης διελέχθη. ἐγὼ δ' ὅλως μὲν,

above (6) as if they had themselves judged the previous cases.—τὴν ἀλήθειαν: with special emphasis, after τὸν δῆμον and τοὺς δικαστὰς.

This passage is a dignified and fitting conclusion to the line of argument beginning with § 227 concerning the orator's *account* (λογισμός) with the state. Now, after a brief allusion (§ 251) to the case of Cephalus, he passes to another matter.

§ 251. 1. τὸ τοῦ Κεφάλου καλὸν may be exclamatory, *there is the glory of Cephalus*; cf. I. 6. But καλὸν is generally taken here as predicate to τὸ τοῦ Κεφάλου (sc. ἐστὶ). (See Aesch. III. 194.) This Cephalus (already mentioned in § 219<sup>3</sup>) is not the father of Lysias, who opens the dialogue of Plato's Republic with Socrates and was ἐπὶ γῆραος οὐδῶ in the lifetime of Socrates; but a later statesman, who with Thrasybulus of Collytus was a leader of the Theban party in Athens, and highly respected.—τὸ...φεύγειν, *the (glory of) never being under indictment*. Aeschines (194), after mentioning the boast of Aristophon that he had been acquitted (ἀπέφυγεν) seventy-five times on the γραφὴ παρανόμων, compares this with

the higher boast of Cephalus, that he had proposed more decrees than any other man, and yet had never once been indicted by this process.

5. πρὸς γε τοῦτον, *so far as this man is concerned*; i.e. Aeschines has done nothing to prevent me from making the boast of Cephalus.

7. ἐδίωξε γραφὴν, *prosecuted an indictment, cognate accusative*, as in ἐγράψατο γραφὴν. The English translation obscures the construction.

8. μηδὲν εἶναι: see M.T. 685.

§§ 252—275. Here Demosthenes replies at great length to scattered remarks of Aeschines about his "bad fortune," which involved in calamity every person, state, or thing which he touched. Though Aeschines refers only to his general *fortune*, Demosthenes chooses to speak chiefly of his *fortunes* in life, which he compares with those of his opponent. He concludes (§§ 270—275) with some forcible remarks on his *fortune* in the other sense.

§ 252. 1. ἀγνωμοσύνην (cf. §§ 94<sup>2</sup>, 207<sup>1</sup>), *want of feeling*.

3. περὶ τῆς τύχης: see Aesch. III. 114, 157, 158, with 135, 136; cf. § 212

ὅστις ἄνθρωπος ὦν ἀνθρώπῳ τύχην προφέρει, ἀνότη-  
του ἡγοῦμαι· ἦν γὰρ ὁ βέλτιστα πράττειν νομίζων 5  
καὶ ἀρίστην ἔχειν οἰόμενος οὐκ οἶδεν εἰ μενεῖ τοιαύτη  
μέχρι τῆς ἐσπέρας, πῶς χρὴ περὶ ταύτης λέγειν ἢ  
πῶς ὀνειδίζειν ἑτέρῳ; ἐπειδὴ δ' οὗτος πρὸς πολλοῖς  
ἄλλοις καὶ περὶ τούτων ὑπερηφάνως χρῆται τῷ  
λόγῳ, σκέψασθ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ θεωρήσασθ' 10  
ὅσῳ καὶ ἀληθέστερον καὶ ἀνθρωπινώτερον ἐγὼ περὶ  
τῆς τύχης τούτου διαλεχθήσομαι. ἐγὼ τὴν τῆς πό- 253  
λεως τύχην ἀγαθὴν ἡγοῦμαι, καὶ ταῦθ' ὁρῶ καὶ τὸν  
Δία τὸν Δωδωναῖον ὑμῖν μαντευόμενον, τὴν μέντοι  
τῶν πάντων ἀνθρώπων, ἣ νῦν ἐπέχει, χαλεπὴν καὶ  
δεινὴν· τίς γὰρ Ἑλλήνων ἢ τίς Βαρβάρων οὐ πολλῶν 5

(above).—ὅλως μὲν is opposed to the special exception, ἐπειδὴ δ' οὗτος (8).

4. προφέρει, *conveys with*.

5. ἦν, after suggesting the object of ἔχειν, is the object of οἶδεν.—βέλτιστα πράττειν: superlative of εὖ πράττειν. See Soph. O.C. 567: ἐξοιδ' ἀνὴρ ὦν χῶτι τῆς ἐς αἶριον οὐδὲν πλέον μοι σοῦ μέτεστιν ἡμέρας (Weil).

9. ὑπερηφάνως, *arrogantly*: opposed to ἀνθρωπινώτερον, *more humanly*, i.e. more as one man should speak of another: cf. ὅστις...προφέρει (4).—χρήται τῷ λόγῳ: cf. εἰ δικαίως χρήσομαι τῷ λόγῳ, § 233<sup>n</sup>.

§ 253. 1. τὴν...τύχην: the general good fortune of Athens, as it is here understood, is not mere chance or luck (as in §§ 207<sup>2</sup> and 306<sup>n</sup>), but the result of divine protection and the care of the Gods. See the poem on Solon, quoted in XIX. 255, which begins

Ἡμετέρα δὲ πόλις κατὰ μὲν Διὸς οὔποτ'  
ὀλεῖται  
αἴσαν καὶ μακάρων θεῶν φρένας ἀθανάτων·  
τοίη γὰρ μεγάλθυμος ἐπίσκοπος ὄβριμ-  
πάτρη

Παλλὰς Ἀθηναίη χεῖρας ὑπερθεν ἔχει·

with the orator's comment (256), ἐγὼ δ' αἰεὶ μὲν ἀληθῆ τὸν λόγον τοῦτον ἡγοῦμαι καὶ βούλομαι, ὡς ἄρ' οἱ θεοὶ σφύζουσιν ἡμῶν τὴν πόλιν. So IV. 12: (τῆς τύχης) ἥπερ αἰεὶ βέλτιον ἢ ἡμεῖς ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιμελούμεθα.

3. τὸν...Δωδωναῖον: cf. II. XVI. 233, Ζεὺ ἄνα Δωδωναίε, Πελασγικέ, τηλόθι ναῖω, in the prayer of Achilles. Oracles sent from Dodona to Athens are quoted by Demosthenes, XXI. 53; cf. XIX. 299, ὁ Ζεὺς, ἡ Διώνη (the Queen of Zeus at Dodona), πάντες οἱ θεοί. At this time Dodona was probably more revered at Athens because of the Macedonian influence at Delphi: cf. Aesch. III. 130, Δημοσθένης δὲ ἀντέλεγε, φιλιππίζεν τὴν Πυθίαν φάσκων, ἀπαίδευτος ὢν κ.τ.λ.

4. τῶν πάντων ἀνθρώπων, *man-kind in general*, as opposed to Athens alone.

5. πολλῶν κακῶν: witness the destruction of Thebes by Alexander; and the overthrow of the Persian Empire, which was then going on. See Aesch. III. 132, 133; in 134 he includes Athens in the general bad fortune which she owes to the baneful influence of Demosthenes.

κακῶν ἐν τῷ παρόντι πεπειράται; τὸ μὲν τοίνυν 254  
 προελέσθαι τὰ κάλλιστα, καὶ τὸ τῶν οἰηθέντων  
 Ἑλλήνων εἰ πρόοιθ' ἡμᾶς ἐν εὐδαιμονίᾳ διάξειν  
 αὐτῶν ἄμεινον πράττειν, τῆς ἀγαθῆς τύχης τῆς  
 πόλεως εἶναι τίθημι· τὸ δὲ προσκροῦσαι καὶ μὴ 5  
 312 πάνθ' ὡς ἡβουλόμεθ' ἡμῖν συμβῆναι τῆς τῶν ἄλλων  
 ἀνθρώπων τύχης τὸ ἐπιβάλλον ἐφ' ἡμᾶς μέρος  
 μετεκληφέναι νομίζω τὴν πόλιν. τὴν δ' ἰδίαν τύχην 255  
 τὴν ἐμὴν καὶ τὴν ἐνὸς ἡμῶν ἐκάστου ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις  
 ἐξετάζειν δίκαιον εἶναι νομίζω. ἐγὼ μὲν οὕτως περὶ  
 τῆς τύχης ἀξιῶ, ὁρθῶς καὶ δικαίως, ὡς ἐμαντῷ δοκῶ,  
 νομίζω δὲ καὶ ὑμῖν· ὁ δὲ τὴν ἰδίαν τύχην τὴν ἐμὴν 5  
 τῆς κοινῆς τῆς πόλεως κυριωτέραν εἶναί φησι, τὴν  
 μικρὰν καὶ φαύλην τῆς ἀγαθῆς καὶ μεγάλης. καὶ  
 πῶς ἐνι τοῦτο γενέσθαι;

Καὶ μὴν εἴ γε τὴν ἐμὴν τύχην πάντως ἐξετάζειν, 256  
 Αἰσχίνῃ, προαιρεῖ, πρὸς τὴν σαυτοῦ σκόπει, κὰν  
 εὖρης τὴν ἐμὴν βελτίω τῆς σῆς, παῦσαι λοιδοροῦ-  
 μενος αὐτῇ. σκόπει τοίνυν εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς. καὶ

§ 254. 1. τὸ προελέσθαι τὰ κάλ-  
 λιστα, *our choice of the most glorious*  
*course*: the whole sentence through  
 ἄμεινον πράττειν is the subject of  
 εἶναι (5), i.e. he includes all this in  
 the special good fortune of Athens.

2. τῶν οἰηθέντων introduces ἐλ  
 πρόοιθ'...διάξειν in *or. obl.*: the gen.  
 depends on ἄμεινον πράττειν (4).

4. αὐτῶν: intensive with τῶν Ἑλ-  
 λήνων, *than those very Greeks*; almost  
 reiterative.—ἄμεινον πράττειν: cf.  
 βέλτιστα πράττειν, § 252<sup>b</sup>.—τῆς τύχης  
 εἶναι τίθημι: see I. 10, τὸ μὲν  
 γὰρ πολλὰ ἀπολωλεκέναι...τῆς ἡμε-  
 τέρας ἀμελείας ἂν τις θελῇ δικαίως  
 τίθημι in this sense takes the infinitive  
 regularly in *or. obl.*: see Aesch. III.  
 163, βούλει σε θῶ φοβηθῆναι καὶ χρή-  
 σασθαι τῷ σαυτοῦ τρόπῳ;

5. τὸ δὲ προσκροῦσαι καὶ μὴ...

συμβῆναι, i.e. *our disaster* (euphe-  
 mistically called *collision*) and *our*  
*not having everything done as we*  
*wished*: this is the object of μετεκλη-  
 φέναι, with τὸ...μέρος as appositive,  
*this I believe that our city has received*  
*as the share of the general (bad) for-*  
*ture of the rest of mankind which*  
*falls to our lot.*

7. τὸ ἐπιβάλλον μέρος: cf. τὸ  
 γιγνώμενον, *the quota*, § 104<sup>b</sup>. Cf.  
 ἐπιβάλλει, § 272<sup>d</sup>.

§ 255. 2. ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις: Aesch.  
 had sought for the fortune of Demosth.  
 ἐν τοῖς δημοσίοις, as in III. 114, συμ-  
 βέβηκεν αὐτῷ δτου ἂν προσάψηται...  
 τούτων ἐκάστους ἀνιάτοις συμφοραῖς  
 περιβάλλειν.

4. ἀξιῶ, *judge*: οὕτως ἀξιῶ=τοῦτο  
 ἀξιὸν εἶναι νομίζω.

5. νομίζω ὑμῖν: sc. δοκεῖν.

μον πρὸς Διὸς μηδεμίαν ψυχρότητα καταγνῶ μηδεῖς. 5  
ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐτ' εἰ τις πενίαν προπηλακίζει, νοῦν ἔχειν  
ἡγνούμαι, οὐτ' εἰ τις ἐν ἀφθόνοις τραφεῖς ἐπὶ τούτῳ  
σεμνύνεται· ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῆς τουτουὶ τοῦ χαλεποῦ  
βλασφημίας καὶ συκοφαντίας εἰς τοιούτους λόγους  
ἐμπέπτειν ἀναγκάζομαι, οἷς ἐκ τῶν ἐνόντων ὥς ἂν 10  
δύνωμαι μετριώτατα χρήσομαι.

Ἐμοὶ μὲν τοίνυν ὑπῆρξεν, Αἰσχίνῃ, παιδὶ τὰ 257  
προσῆκοντα διδασκαλεία, καὶ ἔχειν ὅσα χρή τὸν  
μηδὲν αἰσχροὺν ποιήσοντα δι' ἐνδεῖαν, ἐξελθόντι δ'  
ἐκ παιδῶν ἀκόλουθα τούτοις πράττειν, χορηγεῖν,  
τριορραχεῖν, εἰσφέρειν, μηδεμιᾶς πιλοτιμίας μήτ' 5  
ιδίᾳς μήτε δημοσίας ἀπολείπεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ  
πόλει καὶ τοῖς φίλοις χρήσιμον εἶναι· ἐπεὶ δὲ δὲ  
πρὸς τὰ κοινὰ προσελθεῖν ἔδοξέ μοι, τοιαῦτα πολι-

§ 256. 5. ψυχρότητα, coldness,  
*want of feeling*.

7. ἐν ἀφθόνοις, in affluence.

8. χαλεποῦ, harsh, stronger than  
ψυχροῦ.

10. ἐκ τῶν...μετριώτατα, as mod-  
erately as the state of the case (τὰ  
ἐνόντα) will permit. We have again  
an apology, perhaps an honest one,  
for the personal vituperation which  
follows, §§ 257—262.

§ 257. 1. ὑπῆρξεν: the subjects  
are διδασκαλεία and the infinitives  
ἔχειν and πράττειν, with ἐλέσθαι (9).  
Most MSS. (not 2 and 1.) insert μὲν  
ὅτι, ποιεῖν etc. after παιδί.

2, 3. προσῆκοντα, i.e. such as chil-  
dren of the better classes attended:  
one of the charges against his guar-  
dian Aphidius (xxvii. 46) is τοὺς διδα-  
σκάλους τοὺς μισθοὺς ἀπεστέρηκε.—τὸν  
ποιήσοντα—ὅς ποιήσει, he who is  
to do etc. (M.T. 527, 530).—αἰσχροὺν,  
i.e. ἀνελέσθρον: this idea of the igno-  
rantly of toil is a commonplace with  
the Greeks, as a slave-holding people.

Cf. Ar. Av. 1432, τί γὰρ πάθω;  
σκάπτειν γὰρ οὐκ ἐπίσταμαι.

4. ἀκόλουθα πράττειν is explained  
by the rest of the clause, χορηγεῖν...  
χρήσιμον εἶναι.—χορηγεῖν, τριορρα-  
χεῖν: testimony about all his λητουργίαι  
is given in § 267. He was χορηγός in  
350 B.C., when he was assaulted by  
Midias (xxi. 13 ff.); for his numerous  
trierarchies see xxi. 78, 154, Aesch.  
iii. 51, 52, and cf. § 99<sup>11</sup> (above).

5. εἰσφέρειν, to pay the εἰσφορά,  
or property-tax: this was assessed  
"progressively," the richer being  
taxed on a larger proportion (τιμῆμα)  
of their actual property than the  
poorer. (See *Eisphora* in Smith's  
Dict. Antiq.) The guardians of  
Demosthenes, to conceal their pecu-  
lations, continued to enroll their ward  
in the highest class, so that he paid  
taxes on a τιμῆμα of one-fifth of his  
property (οὐρία), whereas he should  
have been placed in a much lower  
class after the inroads upon the estate.  
See xxvii. 7 and xxviii. 4.

313 τεύμαθ' ἐλέσθαι ὥστε καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς πατρίδος καὶ ὑπ' ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων πολλῶν πολλάκις ἐστεφανῶσθαι, 10 καὶ μὴδὲ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμᾶς ὡς οὐ καλὰ γ' ἦν ἂ προειλόμην ἐπιχειρεῖν λέγειν. ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ τοιαύτῃ 258 συμβεβίωκα τύχῃ, καὶ πόλλ' ἂν ἔχων ἕτερ' εἰπεῖν περὶ αὐτῆς παραλείπω, φυλαττόμενος τὸ λυπήσασθαι ἐν οἷς σεμνύνομαι. σὺ δ' ὁ σεμνὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ διαπτύων τοὺς ἄλλους σκόπει πρὸς ταύτην ποία τινὶ 5 κέχρησαι τύχῃ, δι' ἣν παῖς μὲν ὢν μετὰ πολλῆς τῆς ἐνδεείας ἐτράφη, ἅμα τῷ πατρὶ πρὸς τῷ διδασκαλείῳ προσεδρεύων, τὸ μέλαν τρίβων καὶ τὰ βάθρα σπογγίζων καὶ τὸ παιδαγωγεῖον κορῶν, οἰκέτου τάξιν οὐκ ἐλευθέρου παιδὸς ἔχων, ἀνὴρ δὲ γενόμενος τῇ μητρὶ 259 τελοῦσθαι τὰς βίβλους ἀνεγίνωσκας καὶ τἄλλα συνε-

9. ὥστε, with perfect and present infinitive: M.T. 590, 109.

10. ἐστεφανῶσθαι: see §§ 83, 120, 222, 223.

11. ἂ προειλόμην, i.e. τὴν ἐμὴν προαῖρεσιν: cf. § 190<sup>5</sup>.

§ 258. 2. συμβεβίωκα...εἰπεῖν: an accidental dactylic hexameter.—πόλλ' ἂν ἔχων=πόλλ' ἂν ἔχοιμι, though I might etc.: cf. § 138<sup>1,2</sup>.

3. φυλαττόμενος τὸ λυπήσασθαι (M.T. 374): the object infinitive takes the place of μὴ λυπήσω, which in use had become an object clause (M.T. 303 C).

7. πρὸς τῷ διδασκαλείῳ: see notes on § 129<sup>2,4</sup>.

8. προσεδρεύων, attending (as a servant).—τὸ μέλαν τρίβων: the ink was probably rubbed from a cake (like India ink) and mixed with water.

9. παιδαγωγεῖον, probably a room in which the παιδαγωγοί, slaves who brought the boys to and from school, waited for these to be ready to go home: later it was used like διδασκαλεῖον for a schoolroom.—οἰκέτου...ἔχων: the mention of these menial

duties implies the same condition of father and son as appears in § 129.

§ 259. In this section and § 260 we have a lively comic description, highly caricatured, of some Asiatic ceremonies of initiation, in which the mother of Aeschines is said to have taken part. This was some form of Bacchic worship, with perhaps a mixture of Orphic mysteries. It seems there was a written service (τὰς βίβλους), which Aeschines read like a clerk while his mother officiated as priestess. The initiation of Strepsiades into the Socratic mysteries (Ar. Nub. 255—262) probably caricatures some similar worship.

1. τῇ μητρὶ τελοῦσθαι: see XIX. 281, Γλαυκοθέας τῆς τοὺς θιάσους συναγωγῆς, ἐφ' οἷς ἑτέρα τέθηκεν ἱέρεια, and cf. 249. In XIX. 199 we have τὰς βίβλους ἀναγινώσκοντά σε τῇ μητρὶ τελοῦσθαι, καὶ παῖδ' ὄντ' ἐν θιάσοις καὶ μεθύουσιν ἀνθρώποις καλινδοῦμενον.

2. τἄλλα συνεσκευωροῦ, you helped to conduct the rest of the ceremony:

σκευωροῦ, τὴν μὲν νύκτα νεβρίζων καὶ κρατηρίζων καὶ καθαίρων τοὺς τελουμένους καὶ ἀπομάττων τῷ πηλῷ καὶ τοῖς πιτύροις, καὶ ἀνιστὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ καθαρ- 5 μού κελεύων λέγειν ἔφυγον κακὸν, εὖρον ἄμεινον, ἐπὶ τῷ μηδένα πώποτε τηλικούτ' ὀλολύξαι σεμνυνόμενος (καὶ ἔγωγε νομίζω· μὴ γὰρ οἶσθ' αὐτὸν φθέγγεσθαι μὲν οὕτω μέγα, ὀλολύξειν δ' οὐχ ὑπέρλαμπρον), ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἡμέραις τοὺς καλοὺς θιάσους ἄγων 260 διὰ τῶν ὁδῶν, τοὺς ἐστεφανωμένους τῷ μαράθῳ καὶ

σκευωροῦμαι is properly *look after* *σκεῖη* (of any kind), and generally *manage, direct, devise, concoct* (often in a bad sense): cf. IX. 17 τὰ ἐν Πελопοννήσῳ σκενωροῦμενον (of Philip).

3. νεβρίζων and κρατηρίζων are probably transitive and govern τοὺς τελουμένους, like καθαίρων, ἀπομάττων, and ἀνιστὰς, i.e. *dressing them in fawnskins and drenching them with wine*. See Eur. Bacch. 24, νεβρίδ' ἐξάσας χροῖος, and Sandys' note. They are sometimes taken as neuter, meaning *dressing yourself in a fawn-skin and pouring out wine*.

4. ἀπομάττων...πιτύροις, i.e. *plastering them over with clay and then rubbing them clean with bran*.

5. ἀνιστὰς: the victim is supposed to be sitting during the operation, like Strepesides (Nub. 256).—καθαρμοῦ: the process was a purification and also a charm.

6. κελεύων, subordinate to ἀνιστὰς: i.e. *making him get up as he bids him say*, etc.—ἔφυγον κακὸν, εὖρον ἄμεινον: this formula was borrowed from initiations and other ceremonies of a higher character, meaning that a new life was opened as the result of the ceremony just ended. Suidas gives (under ἔφυγον...ἄμεινον): τὰ τρεῖται ἐπὶ τῶν ἀπὸ κακοῦ εἰς κρείττον ἐλθόντων. The saying originally referred to the change from the acorns and thistles of primi-

tive life to the more civilized bread, and was used at weddings and other ceremonies. The words form a paroemiac, and probably belonged to some metrical formula.

7. ὀλολύξαι, used especially of *cries or shouts* in religious worship or prayers: see Oel. IV. 767, ὡς εἰποῖς ὀλόλυξε (after a prayer): Aeschyl. Eum. 1043, ὀλολύξατε νῦν ἐπὶ μοι παῖς: Eur. Bacch. 689, ὀλόλυξεν ἐν μέσais σταθεῖσα Βάκχαις.

8. φθέγγεσθαι μέγα: the strong voice of Aeschines is often mentioned by Demosthenes: see below, §§ 280, 285<sup>b</sup>, 291<sup>b</sup>, 313<sup>c</sup>, and especially XIX. 206—208, 216, 337—340; in XIX. 216 he says, μηδὲ γε εἰ καλὸν καὶ μέγα οὗτος φθέγγεται, μηδ' εἰ φαῖλον ἐγώ, alluding to his own weakness of voice.

§ 260. 1. ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἡμέραις implies that the ceremonies just described were performed by night.—θιάσους, used especially of Bacchanals: see Eur. Bacch. 680, ὅρῳ δὲ θιάσους τρεῖς γυναικείων χορῶν.

2. τῷ μαράθῳ καὶ τῇ λεύκῃ: from μαράθῳ, *fennel*, Marathon is said to have been named (cf. Strab. p. 160); for the fondness of serpents for it, see Ael. Hist. Animal. IX. 16. For serpents in the Bacchic worship, see Eur. Bacch. 102, 697. The white poplar, λεύκη, *populus alba*, is men-

τῇ λεύκῃ, τοὺς ὄφεις τοὺς παρείλας θλίβων καὶ ὑπὲρ  
 τῆς κεφαλῆς αἰωρῶν, καὶ βοῶν εὐοῖ σαβοῖ, καὶ  
 ἐπορχούμενος ὕῃς ἄττης ἄττης ὕῃς, ἔξαρχος καὶ 5  
 προηγμένων καὶ κιττοφόρος καὶ λικνοφόρος καὶ τοιαῦθ'  
 314 ὑπὸ τῶν γραδίων προσαγορευόμενος, μισθὸν λαμβά-  
 νων τούτων ἐνθρυπτα καὶ στρεπτοὺς καὶ νεήλατα,  
 ἐφ' οἷς τίς οὐκ ἂν ὡς ἀληθῶς αὐτὸν εὐδαιμονίσειε  
 καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ τύχην; ἐπειδὴ δ' εἰς τοὺς δημότας 281  
 ἐνεγράφης ὅπωςδὴποτε (ἐὼ γὰρ τοῦτο)—ἐπειδὴ γ'  
 ἐνεγράφης, εὐθέως τὸ κάλλιστον ἐξελέξω τῶν ἔργων,  
 γραμματεύειν καὶ ὑπηρετεῖν τοῖς ἀρχιδίοις. ὡς δ'

tioned in Ar. Nub. 1007. See Bekk. Anecd. p. 279: ἡ δὲ λευκὴ τὸ μὲν τῶν φύλλων ἔχει λευκὸν τὸ δ' ἕτερον μέλαν, σύμβολόν τι τοῦ βίου καὶ τοῦ θανάτου.

3. τοὺς παρείλας: see Harpocr., *παρεῖλαι* ὀνομάζονται τινες ὄφεις παρὰ τὸ *παρείλας* μελίζουσ ἔχειν, and Ael. Hist. An. VIII. 12, ὁ *παρείλας* ἡ παρούσας πυρρὸς τὴν χροάν, εὐωπὸς τὸ ὄμμα, πλατὺς τὸ στόμα, δακύνει οὐ σφαλερὸς ἀλλὰ πρῶτος. These harmless snakes were thus sacred to Aesculapius, and were named *παρεῖλαι* from their fat cheeks. See Ar. Plut. 690.

4. εὐοῖ σαβοῖ: as εὐοῖ, *ευοε*, was the cry used in the regular Bacchic worship, so *σαβοῖ* was used in invoking *Σαβάζιος*, the Phrygian Bacchus. All points to some Asiatic worship, more or less caricatured.

5. ὕῃς ἄττης ἄττης ὕῃς: these mystic words stand as a cognate accusative with *ἐπορχούμενος*; this is what he danced.—*ἔξαρχος καὶ προηγμένων* designates Aeschines as *leader* of the song or dance or both.

6. *κιττοφόρος*, *ivy-bearer*, the *ivy* being sacred to Bacchus.—*λικνοφόρος*, *bearer of the winnowing-fan*, *λικνον*, the *mystica vannus iacchi*. See Verg. Georg. I. 166.—*καὶ τοιαῦθ'*, i.e. *these* (*ἔξαρχος* κ.τ.λ.) *and similar names*.

8. *ἐνθρυπτα*, *στρεπτοὺς*, *sofs*, *twists*: for *ἐνθρυπτα* see the Schol., *ψαμοὶ οὖν βεβρεγμένοι. στρεπτοὺς· πλακοῦντος εἶδος* (Harpocr.), evidently from *στρέφω*.—*νεήλατα*: acc. to Harpocraton, *barley buns*, made of newly-ground (roasted) barley, soaked in honey and covered with plums and chick-peas.

§ 261. 1. *εἰς τοὺς δημότας ἐνεγράφης*: each deme was responsible for the correctness of its *ληξιαρχικὸν γραμματεῖον*, or list of citizens. Aristotle's Constitution of Athens (42<sup>2</sup>) gives us clear information on the whole subject of the enrolment of new citizens.

2. *ὅπωςδὴποτε*, *somehow*, with *ἐπειδὴ γ' ἐνεγράφης*, refers to the story that his father was a slave, in which case it would have been impossible for the son to be legally enrolled as a citizen without an affirmative vote of 6000 in the Assembly; while the safeguards against illegal enrolment would have made this almost impossible.

4. *γραμματεύειν*: see §§ 162<sup>5</sup>, 209<sup>2</sup>. The occupation of a paid private clerk (not that of a clerk of the Senate or Assembly) was despised at Athens: see § 127<sup>3</sup>, *ὀλεθρος γραμματεὺς*.—

ἀπηλλάγης ποτὲ καὶ τούτου, πάνθ' ἂ τῶν ἄλλων 5  
κατηγορεῖς αὐτὸς ποιήσας, οὐ κατήσχυνας μὰ Δί'  
οὐδὲν τῶν προὔπηργμένων τῷ μετὰ ταῦτα βίῳ, ἀλλὰ 262  
μισθώσας σαυτὸν τοῖς βαρυστόνοις ἐπικαλουμένοις  
ἐκείνοις ὑποκριταῖς, Σιμύκκῃ καὶ Σωκράτει, ἐτριτα-  
γωνίστεις, σῦκα καὶ βότρυς καὶ ἐλάας συλλέγων  
ὥσπερ ὀπωρώνης ἐκ τῶν ἀλλοτριῶν χωρίων, πλείω 5  
λαμβάνων ἀπὸ τούτων ἢ τῶν ἀγώνων, οὓς ὑμεῖς  
περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ἡγωνίζεσθε· ἦν γὰρ ἄσπονδος καὶ  
ἀκηρυκτος ὑμῖν πρὸς τοὺς θεατὰς πόλεμος, ὑφ' ὧν  
πολλὰ τραύματ' εἰληφώς εἰκότως τοὺς ἀπείρους τῶν

ἀρχιδίαις, *chief officers*: ἀρχιδίαις is here alternative of ἀρχή in the sense of ἀγων. See Aesch. III. 21, ἀρχὴν ἐκείνου μὴ ἀποδοῖναι.

7. τῶν προὔπηργμένων, *of your antecedents*.

§ 262. 2. τοῖς βαρυστόνοις, *the heavy groaners*.

3. Σιμύκκῃ (so Σ): Theophrastus (Athen. VIII. 348A) mentions Σιμύκκας τὰν ὑποκριτῶν.—ἐτριταγωνίστεις: a company of strolling actors, such as performed at the country festivals, was probably composed of two men, who played the first and second parts and hired another to play the third parts.

4. σῦκα...χωρίων: the meaning of these much disputed words seems to be, that the band of players subsisted chiefly on the fruit which Aeschines, as their hired servant, collected from the neighbouring farms by begging, stealing, or buying, as he found most convenient. He is compared to a small fruiterer (ὀπωρώνης), who each morning collects his load of fruit from farms which he has hired, or wherever else he can get it cheapest. Pollux (VI. 128) includes ὀπωρώνης (with παρροβσκόος and ἀλλαντοπώλης) in his long list of βλῖαι ἐφ' οἷς ἂν τις δνειδισθῇ.

5. πλείω...ἀγώνων, *getting more (profit) from these than from your plays (contests)*.

6. οὓς (cogn. acc.)...ἡγωνίζεσθε, *which you played at the risk of your lives (or in which you fought for your lives)*, with a pun on the two meanings of ἀγών and ἀγωνίζομαι, *fight* and *play*: see IV. 47 τῶν στρατηγῶν ἕκαστος οἷς καὶ τοῖς κρίνεται παρ' ὑμῖν περὶ θανάτου, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς οὐδὲ οὐδὲ ἀπαξ αὐτῶν ἀγωνίσασθαι περὶ θανάτου τολμᾷ, where there is a similar pun on *being tried* (ἀγωνίσασθαι) *for their lives* in court and in battle.

7. ἄσπονδος καὶ ἀκήρυκτος, *without truce or herald, i.e. implacable, without even the common decencies of civilized warfare*.

9. τραύματ' εἰληφώς: see XIX. 337, ὅτε μὲν τὰ θεῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ Τροίᾳ κακὰ ἡγωνίζετο, ἐξεβάλλετε αὐτὸν καὶ ἐξεσυρίττετε ἐκ τῶν θεάτρων, καὶ μόνον οὐ κατελεύετε οὕτως ὥστε τελευτῶντα τοῦ τριταγωνιστεῖν ἀποστήναι. This account of the πόλεμος makes τραύματ' here perfectly intelligible; but the reading τούτων τραύματα in 6 (which all MSS. except Σ have) makes endless difficulty and confusion. If τραύματα in 6 is referred to wounds received in stealing fruit, compared with those received on the

τοιούτων κινδύνων ὥς δειλοὺς σκώπτεις. ἀλλὰ γὰρ 263  
 παρεῖς ὦν τὴν <sup>ἐν</sup>πενίαν αἰτιάσαιτ' ἂν τις, πρὸς αὐτὰ  
 τὰ τοῦ τρόπου σου βαδιοῦμαι κατηγορήματα. τοι-  
 αὐτὴν γὰρ εἴλου πολιτείαν, ἐπειδὴ ποτε καὶ τοῦτ'  
 ἐπῆλθέ σοι ποιῆσαι, δι' ἣν εὐτυχούσης μὲν τῆς 5  
 πατρίδος λαγῶ βίον ἔξης δεδιὼς καὶ τρέμων καὶ αἰεὶ  
 πληγῇσεσθαι προσδοκῶν ἐφ'. οἷς σαυτῷ συνῆδεις  
 ἀδικοῦντι, ἐν οἷς δ' ἠτύχησαν οἱ ἄλλοι, θρασὺς ὦν  
 ὑφ' ἀπάντων ὦψαι. καίτοι ὅστις χιλίων πολιτῶν 264  
 ἀποθανόντων ἐθάρρησε, τί οὗτος παθεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν  
 ζώντων δίκαιός ἐστιν; πολλὰ τοίνυν ἕτερ' εἰπεῖν  
 315 ἔχων περὶ αὐτοῦ παραλείψω· οὐ γὰρ ὅς' ἂν δείξαιμι  
 προσόντ' αἰσχυρὰ τούτῳ καὶ ὀνειδῆ, πάντ' οἶμαι δεῖν 5  
 εὐχερῶς λέγειν, ἀλλ' ὅσα μηδὲν αἰσχυρόν ἐστιν εἰπεῖν  
 ἐμοί.

stage or after the play, there is a strange repetition of the latter; if there is a reference (as Westermann suggests) to fruit used in pelting the actors, it is hard to see how figs, grapes, and olives could endanger the lives of the "heavy groaners."

10. ὥς δειλοὺς σκώπτεις: see § 245<sup>2</sup>.

Demosthenes (XIX. 246, 247) says that Aeschines was a *τριταγωνιστής* also to actors of high repute, as Theodorus and Aristodemus; and he reminds him of the time when he used to play the part of Creon in the *Antigone* with these actors. He adds the following: ἐν ἅπασιν τοῖς δράμασι τοῖς τραγικοῖς ἐξαιρετόν ἐστιν ὥσπερ γέρας τοῖς τριταγωνισταῖς τὸ τοὺς τυράννους καὶ τοὺς τὰ σκῆπτρ' ἔχοντας εἰσιέναι.

§ 263. 4. πολιτείαν, *position in public life*.—καὶ emphasizes the rest of the clause, τοῦτ'...ποιῆσαι, i.e. when at last you took it into your head to try this.

6. λαγῶ βίον ἔξης: Weil quotes

Trag. frag. incert. 373 (N.), λαγῶ βίον ἔξης, ὁ πρὶν ἀτρομος λέων. "Dicuntur leporis vitam vivere qui semper anxii trepidique vivunt; nam ut est apud Herod. III. 108, ὁ λαγὸς ὑπὸ παντὸς θηρεύεται θηρίου καὶ θνητοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπου, ac ne somnum quidem capit nisi oculis apertis" (Dissen).

8. θρασὺς ὦν...ὦψαι (M.T. 884): personal passive construction.

§ 264. 1. χιλίων ἀποθανόντων, at Chaeronea: see Diod. XVI. 86, τῶν δ' Ἀθηναίων ἔπεσον μὲν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ πλείους τῶν χιλίων, ἤλωσαν δὲ οὐκ ἐλάττους τῶν δισχιλίων. See Lycurg. Leocr. 142, χίλιοι τῶν ὑμετέρων πολιτῶν ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ ἐτελεύτησαν, καὶ δημοσίᾳ αὐτοὺς ἡ πόλις ἔθαψαν. Diod. XVI. 88 quotes an eloquent passage of the speech of Lycurgus at the trial of Lysicles, one of the Athenian commanders at Chaeronea, who was condemned to death.

5. προσόντ' αἰσχυρὰ τούτῳ: cf. § 276<sup>5</sup>.

6. εὐχερῶς λέγειν, *to be ready to tell*: cf. § 70<sup>7</sup>.

Ἐξέτασον τοῖνυν παρ' ἄλληλα τὰ σοὶ κάμοι 265  
 βεβιωμένα, πράως, μὴ πικρῶς, Αἰσχίνη· εἴτ' ἐρώτη-  
 σον τουτουσί τὴν ποτέρου τύχην ἂν ἔλοιθ' ἕκαστος  
 αὐτῶν. ἐδίδασκες γράμματα, ἐγὼ δ' ἐφοίτων. ἐτέ-  
 λεις, ἐγὼ δ' ἐτελούμην. ἐγραμμάτευες, ἐγὼ δ' ἠκκλη- 5  
 σίαζον. ἐτριταγωνίστεις, ἐγὼ δ' ἐθεώρουν· ἐξέπιπτες,  
 ἐγὼ δ' ἐσύριττον. ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν πεπολίτευσαι  
 πάντα, ἐγὼ δ' ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος. ἐὼ τᾶλλα, ἀλλὰ 266  
 νυνὶ τήμερον ἐγὼ μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ στεφανωθῆναι δοκι-  
 μάζομαι, τὸ δὲ μὴδ' ὅτιοῦν ἀδικεῖν ἀνωμολόγημαι,  
 σοὶ δὲ συκοφάντῃ μὲν εἶναι δοκεῖν ὑπάρχει, κινδυ-  
 νεύεις δὲ εἴτε δεῖ σ' ἔτι τοῦτο ποιεῖν, εἴτ' ἤδη πεπαυ- 5  
 σθαι μὴ μεταλαβόντα τὸ πέμπτον μέρος τῶν ψήφων.  
 ἀγαθὴ γ'—οὐχ ὀρᾶς;—τύχῃ συμβεβιωκῶς τῆς ἐμῆς  
 κατηγορεῖς.

§ 265. In §§ 265, 266, the orator sums up vigorously the substance of §§ 237—264. Westermann points out that each of the five stages of the life of Aeschines is mentioned in order, when he was (1) a schoolmaster's assistant (§ 258), (2) initiator (§§ 259, 260), (3) scribe (§ 261), (4) actor (§ 262), (5) politician (§§ 263, 264). Many ancient rhetoricians quote these famous antitheses with approval and admiration. We are again shocked by the open avowal of the disgrace of earning an honest living; the ancients were certainly more honest than many of our generation in expressing this.

1. τὰ...βεβιωμένα: passive of ἀ...βεβιώκαμεν (cf. § 130<sup>1</sup>).

4. ἐφοίτων, went to school; cf. Ar. Nub. 916, διὰ σὲ δὲ φοιτᾶν οὐδὲς ἐθέλει τῶν μειρακίων.

5. ἐτελούμην, probably into the Eleusinian mysteries.

6. ἐξέπιπτες: ἐκπίπτειν, exigi, is used as a passive to ἐκβάλλειν; cf. XIX. 337, and Arist. Poet. 17<sup>2</sup>, 18<sup>16</sup>.

§ 266. 2. ὑπὲρ...δοκιμάζομαι: δοκιμασία is any investigation to test the fitness or competency of a person for anything, as for office (its ordinary meaning) or for citizenship; and δοκιμάζομαι here implies that this trial is to test his fitness for the crown.

3. τὸ...ἀδικεῖν ἀνωμολόγημαι: § 86<sup>2</sup>, ἀνωμολόγημαι τὰ ἄριστα πειν. The articular infinitive in *ohl.* is rare (M.T. 794, 743).

4. σοὶ ὑπάρχει, it is in store you.—κινδυνεύεις corresponds to: μάζομαι (2): the meaning is, question with you is.

5. τοῦτο ποιεῖν, i.e. to go on being a συκοφάντης.—πεπαυσθαι, to be stopped (once for all), i.e. by ἀτίμια (cf. § 82<sup>9</sup>).

6. τὸ πέμπτον μέρος: Diodori omits πέμπτον because it is omitted in §§ 103, 222, 250, whereas it appears in other speeches frequently (e.g. XXII. 3). What modern orator or writer would submit to such rules of consistency as critics impose on the ancients?

7. οὐχ ὀρᾶς; cf. 232<sup>5</sup>, 281<sup>6</sup>.

Φέρε δὴ καὶ τὰς τῶν λητουργιῶν μαρτυρίας ὧν 267  
λελητούργηκα ὑμῖν ἀναγνῶ. παρ' ἧς παρανάνγνωθι  
καὶ σύ μοι τὰς ῥήσεις ἧς ἐλυμαίνου,

ἤκω νεκρῶν κευθμῶνα καὶ σκότου πύλας,  
καὶ

κακαγγελεῖν μὲν ἴσθι μὴ θέλοντά με,  
καὶ κακὸν κακῶς σε μάλιστα μὲν οἱ θεοὶ ἔπειθ'  
οὔτοι πάντες ἀπολέσειαν, πονηρὸν ὄντα καὶ πολί-  
την καὶ τριταγωνιστήν. λέγε τὰς μαρτυρίας.

### ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΑΙ.

Ἐν μὲν τοίνυν τοῖς πρὸς τὴν πόλιν τοιοῦτος· ἐν 268  
316 δὲ τοῖς ἰδίους εἰ μὴ πάντες ἴσθ' ὅτι κοινὸς καὶ φιλάν-  
θρωπος καὶ τοῖς δεομένοις ἐπαρκῶν, σιωπῶ καὶ οὐδὲν  
ἂν εἴποιμι οὐδὲ παρασχοίμην περὶ τούτων οὐδεμίαν  
μαρτυρίαν, οὐτ' εἴ τινας ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων ἐλυσάμην, 5

§ 267. 1. **φέρε...ἀναγνῶ** (M.T. 257): the orator does not read the testimony himself; cf. **λέγε** (9).—**λητουργιῶν**: this includes the public services mentioned in **χορηγεῖν** and **-οιηραρχεῖν** in § 257<sup>4,5</sup>, but not **εἰσφέρειν**, as the property tax was not a **λειτουργία**. For the form **λητουργία** note on § 108<sup>3</sup>.

**ἐλυμαίνου**, *used to outrage*: cf. **ῥιψας**, § 180<sup>6</sup>.

**ἤκω...πύλας**: the *Hecuba* of arripides begins

**ἤκω νεκρῶν κευθμῶνα καὶ σκότου πύλας**  
**λιπῶν, ἵν' Αἰδὴς χωρὶς ὤκισται θεῶν,**  
**Πολύδωρος, Ἐκάβης παῖς.**

All mss. except Σ have **λιπῶν** for **νεκρῶν**, making the sense of the quotation complete. But such a change is unlikely in quoting so familiar a verse.

6. **κακαγγελεῖν...με**: this verse is otherwise unknown. **κακαγγελεῖν** must be pres. infin. of **κακαγγελέω** (otherwise unknown), depending on

**θέλοντα**. The readings of the best mss., **κακαγγέλλειν** or **κάκ' ἀγγέλλειν** (Σ), are metrically impossible. The common reading is **κάκ' ἀγγελεῖν**, an irregular fut. infin. with **θέλοντα** (see M.T. 113).

7. The words **κακὸν κακῶς σε... ἀπολέσειαν** are probably an adaptation of a verse quoted from Lynceus by Athenaeus, IV. 150 C, **κακὸς κακῶς σέ<γ> ἀπολέσειαν οἱ θεοί**, or both may go back to the source of Ar. Eq. 2, 3, **κακῶς Παφλάγονα...ἀπολέσειαν οἱ θεοί**. See Blass.

8. **πονηρὸν**: with both **πολίτην** and **τριταγωνιστήν**.

§ 268. 2. **κοινὸς**, in public relations, *public spirited*, in private matters (as here), *devoted, at the service of all*: cf. Isoc. I. 10, **τοῖς φίλοις κοινός**.

3. **ἐπαρκῶν**, i.e. *ready to help*.—**οὐδὲν ἂν εἴποιμι**, *I had rather not mention anything*.

5. **εἴ τινας ἐλυσάμην**: these were Athenians captured by Philip at Olynthus in 348 B.C., whom Demosthenes

οὐτ' εἴ τισι θυγατέρας συνεξέδωκα, οὔτε τῶν τοιού-  
των οὐδέν. καὶ γὰρ οὕτω πως ὑπέληφα. ἐγὼ 269  
νομίζω τὸν μὲν εὖ παθόντα δεῖν μεμνήσθαι πάντα  
τὸν χρόνον, τὸν δὲ ποιήσαντ' εὐθὺς ἐπιλελησθαι, εἰ  
δεῖ τὸν μὲν χρηστοῦ τὸν δὲ μὴ μικροψύχου ποιεῖν  
ἔργον ἀνθρώπου. τὸ δὲ τὰς ἰδίας εὐεργεσίας ὑπομι- 5  
μνήσκειν καὶ λέγειν μικροῦ δεῖν ὁμοίον ἐστὶ τῷ  
ὀνειδίζειν. οὐ δὴ ποιήσω τοιοῦτον οὐδέν, οὐδὲ  
προαχθήσομαι, ἀλλ' ὅπως ποθ' ὑπέλημμαι περὶ  
τούτων, ἀρκεῖ μοι.

Βούλομαι δὲ τῶν ἰδίων ἀπαλλαγεῖς ἔτι μικρὰ 270

ransomed at Pella in 346 (Hist. § 30). See XIX. 166—170. Dem. lent various sums to these prisoners, which they paid for their ransoms; when afterwards Philip set the other prisoners free without ransom, Dem. forgave the first their debts to him (ξέδωκα δωρεάν τὰ λύτρα), which otherwise they would have been strictly required by law to pay (XIX. 170).

6. **συνεξέδωκα**, i.e. *helped* poor citizens to *endow* their daughters: giving a dowry was an important part of giving a daughter in marriage. —**οὔτε...οὐδέν**, *nor anything else of the kind*. These words are rather loosely connected with the preceding clauses with **οὔτε**: in all three **οὔτε** repeats the negative of **οὐδέν ἀνεποιμι** κ.τ.λ., so that the construction here is **οὔτε** ἂν **ἐποιμι** τῶν τοιούτων **οὐδέν**.

§ 269. 1. **ὑπέληφα**: cf. pass. **ὑπέλημμαι** (8). —**ἐγὼ...δεῖν**: an iambic trimeter.

3. **ποιήσαντ'**: sc. **εὖ**. —**ἐπιλελησθαι**: cf. **πεπαύσθαι**, § 266<sup>b</sup>.

4. **μικροψύχου**: see note on § 279<sup>b</sup>.

5. **ὑπομνήσκων**, i.e. *to be always calling to mind*.

6. **μικροῦ δεῖν**, the full form of **μικροῦ**, *almost* (M.T. 779): cf. § 151<sup>b</sup>. West. quotes Cic. Lael. XX. 71,

odiosum sane genus hominum officia exprobrantium; quae meminisse debet is in quem collata sunt, non commemorare qui contulit; and Sen. Benef. II. 10, haec enim beneficii inter duos lex est: alter statim oblivisci debet dati, alter accepti nunquam; lacerat animum et premit frequens meritorum commemoratio. Pericles (Thuc. II. 40) looks at the matter from a different point of view: οὐ γὰρ πάσχοντες εὖ ἀλλὰ δρῶντες κτώμεθα τοὺς φίλους: κ.τ.λ. There is a New England saying, "If a man does you a favour, he follows you with a tomahawk all your lifetime."

8. **προαχθήσομαι**: cf. **προήχθην** (sc. **τάξαι**), VIII. 71. —**ὅπως ὑπέλημμαι**, as I have been understood, i.e. the general opinion which has been formed of me.

9. **ἀρκεῖ μοι**: sc. **οὕτως ὑπέληφθαι**.

§§ 270—275. We have here a sort of peroration to the discourse on Fortune (§§ 252—275), in which the orator comes at last to the precise point of his opponent's remark, that Demosthenes has brought ill-luck upon every person or state with which he had to do (Aesch. III. 114). Hitherto Demosthenes has spoken

πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰπεῖν περὶ τῶν κοινῶν. εἰ μὲν γὰρ  
 ἔχεις, Αἰσχίνῃ, τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦτον τὸν ἥλιον εἰπεῖν  
 ἀνθρώπων ὅστις ἀθῶος τῆς Φιλίππου πρότερον καὶ  
 νῦν τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου δυναστείας γέγονεν, ἢ τῶν 5  
 Ἑλλήνων ἢ τῶν βαρβάρων, ἔστω, συγχωρῶ τὴν  
 ἐμὴν—εἴτε τύχην εἴτε δυστυχίαν ὀνομάζειν βούλει—  
 πάντων γεγενῆσθαι. εἰ δὲ καὶ τῶν μηδεπώποτ' ἰδόν- 271  
 των ἐμὲ μηδὲ φωνὴν ἀκηκοῦτων ἐμοῦ πολλοὶ πολλὰ  
 καὶ δεινὰ πεπόνθασι, μὴ μόνον κατ' ἄνδρα, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 πόλεις ὅλαι καὶ ἔθνη, πόσῳ δικαιότερον καὶ ἀληθέ-  
 στερον τὴν ἀπάντων, ὥς ἔοικεν, ἀνθρώπων τύχην 5  
 κοινὴν καὶ φορὰν τινα πραγμάτων χαλεπὴν καὶ οὐχ  
 οἶαν ἔδει τούτων αἰτίαν ἡγεῖσθαι. σὺ τοίνυν ταῦτ' 272  
 ἀφείς ἐμὲ τὸν παρὰ τουτοισι πεπολιτευμένον αἰτιᾷ,  
 317 καὶ ταῦτ' εἰδὼς ὅτι, καὶ εἰ μὴ τὸ ὅλον, μέρος γ' ἐπι-  
 βάλλει τῆς βλασφημίας ἅπασι, καὶ μάλιστα σοί.  
 εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐγὼ κατ' ἐμαυτὸν αὐτοκράτωρ περὶ τῶν 5

far more of his "fortunes" than of his "fortune." See remarks before notes on § 252.

§ 270. 3. ὑπὸ τοῦτον τὸν ἥλιον, as we say, *under the Sun* (poetic). See II. v. 267, ὅσσοι ἔασιν ὑπ' ἡῶ τ' ἡελίον τε: Od. xv. 349, ζῶουσιν ὑπ' αὐγὰς ἡελίοιο.

4. ἀθῶος, *unharméd*: cf. § 125<sup>1</sup>, where we have the original meaning, *free from θωή, penalty*, as in XXIII. 78, ταύτης μὲν (δίκης) ἀθῶος ἀφίεται, *he is acquitted*.

5. δυναστείας: see §§ 67<sup>2, 3</sup>, 322<sup>7</sup>, with notes.

8. πάντων γεγενῆσθαι, *has fallen to the lot of us all*: πάντων refers to *all the Athenians*, opposed to τῶν μηδεπώποτ' ἰδόντων ἐμὲ in § 271<sup>1</sup>. He might admit (he implies) that his own fortune had extended to Athens, were it not that foreign states had suffered the same ill fortune.

§ 271. 3. κατ' ἄνδρα, i.e. *individuals*, as opposed to πόλεις and ἔθνη.

6. φορὰν τινα πραγμάτων, *a rush of events*: φορὰ in this sense (*impetus*) belongs to φέρουαι, used as in βία φέρεται, Plat. Phaedr. 254 A, and φερόμενος, *with a rush* (M.T. 837): φορὰν, *crop*, in § 61<sup>2</sup>, belongs to φέρω, *bear, produce*.—οὐχ οἶαν ἔδει, *not what it should be* (present in time, M.T. 417); ἔδει here is *ought to be* (but is not).

§ 272. 3. ἐπιβάλλει: see note on τὸ ἐπιβάλλον μέρος, § 254<sup>7</sup>.

4. ἅπασι: sc. τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις (cf. πᾶσι, § 270<sup>8</sup>).

5. εἰ μὲν...ἐβουλευόμεν is past, while ἦν ἄν, its apodosis, is present.—κατ' ἐμαυτὸν αὐτοκράτωρ, *an absolute autocrat*: cf. αὐτὸς αὐτοκράτωρ, § 235<sup>5</sup>.

πραγμάτων ἐβουλευόμην, ἣν ἂν τοῖς ἄλλοις ῥήτορσιν  
 ὑμῖν ἔμ' αἰτιάσθαι· εἰ δὲ παρήτε μὲν ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλη- 273  
 σίαις ἀπάσαις, ἀεὶ δ' ἐν κοινῷ τὸ συμφέρον ἢ πόλις —  
 προϋτίθει σκοπεῖν, πᾶσι δὲ ταῦτ' ἐδόκει τότ' ἄριστ'  
 εἶναι, καὶ μάλιστα σοὶ (οὐ γὰρ ἐπ' εὐνοίᾳ γ' ἐμοὶ  
 παρεχόμενος ἐλπιδὼν καὶ ζήλου καὶ τιμῶν, ἀ πάντα 5  
 προσῆν τοῖς τότε πραττομένοις ὑπ' ἐμοῦ, ἀλλὰ τῆς  
 ἀληθείας ἡττώμενος δηλονότι καὶ τῷ μηδὲν ἔχειν  
 εἰπεῖν βέλτιον), πῶς οὐκ ἀδικεῖς καὶ δεινὰ ποιεῖς  
 τούτοις νῦν ἐγκαλῶν ὧν τότ' οὐκ εἶχες λέγειν βελτίῳ;  
 παρὰ μὲν τοίνυν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔγωγ' ὁρῶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώ- 274  
 ποῖς διωρισμένα καὶ τεταγμένα πως τὰ τοιαῦτα.  
 ἀδικεῖ τις ἐκῶν· ὀργὴν καὶ τιμωρίαν κατὰ τούτου.

§ 273. 2. ἐν κοινῷ...προϋτίθει  
 σκοπεῖν, put forward for public con-  
 sideration: cf. IV. 1, εἰ περὶ καινοῦ  
 τινοῦ πράγματος προϋτίθετο λέγειν.  
 See § 192<sup>2</sup>, προτίθησι βουλὴν, and  
 § 236<sup>4</sup>, ἐξ ἰσού προτίθετε. γνώμας  
 προτιθέναι often means to open a de-  
 bate: cf. Thuc. I. 139<sup>18</sup>, and III. 38<sup>2</sup>,  
 τῶν προθέντων αὐτοῖς λέγειν, where  
 λέγειν is like σκοπεῖν here.

4. ἐπ' εὐνοίᾳ, out of devotion, cor-  
 responds to ἀλλὰ ἡττώμενος (7).—ἐμοὶ  
 is dative of advantage with παρεχόμενος,  
 but is also felt with ἐπ' εὐνοίᾳ.

5. ζήλου, pride: see § 120<sup>6</sup>.

9. ὧν: with βελτίῳ.

Westermann thinks the argument of  
 this section not quite fair, as it is not  
 to be assumed that Aeschines assented  
 to all which he did not oppose. But,  
 apart from the obvious irony of parts  
 of the argument (as in οὐ γὰρ ἐπ'  
 εὐνοίᾳ κ.τ.λ.), it was surely not too  
 much to expect of the acknowledged  
 "leader of the opposition" in such a  
 desperate crisis, that he should at  
 least protest strongly against measures  
 of such vital importance as those which  
 he censures afterwards, even if he  
 could not propose any positive mea-

sure himself. Now it is an important  
 part of the argument of Demosthenes,  
 that Aeschines said nothing whatever  
 on such occasions as the sudden seizure  
 of Elatea by Philip. See § 191<sup>6</sup>, σοὺ δ'  
 ἀφώνον...καθημέτου: see the whole pas-  
 sage, §§ 188—191. The only ground  
 on which such neglect can be excused  
 is the one here assumed, that the  
 opposition had no better plan to pro-  
 pose. The plain truth is, of course,  
 that Aeschines really wished to let  
 Philip have his own way at this time.

§ 274. 1. παρὰ...ἀνθρώποις: see  
 two similar cases of παρὰ in § 297<sup>4, 6</sup>.  
 —τοῖς ἄλλοις πᾶσιν, i.e. all except  
 Aesch.

2. τὰ τοιαῦτα, i.e. such (prin-  
 ciples) as the following, explained by  
 the statements in 3—8.

3. ἀδικεῖ τις ἐκῶν, a man (let us  
 suppose) is guilty of voluntary injus-  
 tice. We have three such suppositions  
 in independent sentences, with para-  
 tactic replies or apodoses. For a sim-  
 ilar arrangement see § 117, ἐπέδωκα,  
 ἤρχον, ἀδίκως ἤρξα, with the replies.  
 See also § 198<sup>7-9</sup>.

ὀργὴν καὶ τιμωρίαν: sc. διωρισμέ-  
 νην ὁρῶ.

ἐξήμαρτέ τις ἄκων· συγγνώμην ἀντὶ τῆς τιμωρίας  
τούτῃ. οὐτ' ἀδικῶν τις οὐτ' ἐξαμαρτάνων, εἰς τὰ 5  
πᾶσι δοκοῦντα συμφέρειν ἑαυτὸν δούς οὐ κατάρθωσε  
μεθ' ἀπάντων· οὐκ ὀνειδίζειν οὐδὲ λοιδορεῖσθαι τῷ  
τοιούτῳ δίκαιον, ἀλλὰ συνάχθεσθαι. φανήσεται 275  
ταῦτα πάνθ' οὕτως οὐ μόνον τοῖς νόμοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
ἡ φύσις αὐτῇ τοῖς ἀγράφοις νομίμοις καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρω-  
πίνοις ἤθεσι διώρικεν. Αἰσχίνης τοίνυν τοσοῦτον  
ὑπερβέβληκεν ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους ὡμοτῆτι καὶ 5

? [συκοφαντία ὥστε καὶ ὢν αὐτὸς ὡς ἀτυχημάτων  
ἐμέμενητο, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐμοῦ κατηγορεῖ.

Καὶ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὥσπερ αὐτὸς ἀπλῶς καὶ 276

5. οὐτ' ἀδικῶν τις οὐτ' ἐξαμαρτάνων, i.e. *one who neither is guilty of injustice nor errs* (sc. ἀκῶν).

7. μεθ' ἀπάντων, i.e. *in common with everybody*.

8. συνάχθεσθαι, *sympathize with him*.

§ 275. 2. τοῖς νόμοις (without ἐν Σ, ΑΙ), *by the laws*: cf. XX. 57, ταῦτα καὶ νόμοις τισὶ καὶ δόξαις διώρισταί.

3. τοῖς ἀγράφοις νομίμοις, *by the principles of unwritten law*, further explained by τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνοις ἤθεσι: cf. § 114<sup>2</sup>. The unwritten law is known as the law of Nature, the moral law, the divine law, or the higher law, the law which is not *alia lex Romae, alia Athenis*. Aristotle distinguishes two kinds of unwritten law, one the κοινὸς νόμος, ὁ κατὰ φύσιν, the universal law of Nature, the other a branch of the special law of particular States, by which the defects of the written law may be remedied, that is, τὸ ἐπιεικές, *equity*. See Rhet. I. 13. As an example of the universal law he quotes Antig. 456, 457, οὐ γάρ τι...ἐξ ὅτου φάνη, and the verses of Empedocles:

ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν πάντων νόμον διὰ τ'  
εὐρυμέδοντος

αἰθέρος ἠνεκὺς τέταται διὰ τ' ἀπλέ-  
τον αὐ γῆς.

5. ὡμότητι: cf. ὡμότερος, § 212<sup>9</sup>.

6. ὡς ἀτυχημάτων: see Aesch.

III. 57, τῶν δὲ ἀτυχημάτων ἀπάντων  
Δημοσθένην αἰτιον γεγεννημένον.

§§ 276—296. Here Demosthenes begins by alluding to the attempt of Aeschines to represent him as a skilful sophist and rhetorician, who will impose on the judges by his wily arts. He retorts by showing that his own oratorical power has always been exerted in behalf of Athens, while that of Aeschines has been used to help her enemies or to gratify personal malice. He refers to the testimony of the citizens in choosing him to deliver the eulogy on those who fell at Chaeronea, as a proof of his patriotism. Finally, he declares that the present calamities of Greece have been caused by men of the stamp of Aeschines in various Greek states; and he gives a black list of these traitors who have betrayed their countries to the common enemy.

§ 276. 1. ὥσπερ...εἰρηκῶς, i.e. *posing as one who had always spoken his own thoughts honestly and loyally*: we generally translate (for con-

μετ' εὐνοίας πάντας εἰρηκῶς τοὺς λόγους, φυλάττειν  
 318 ἐμὲ καὶ τηρεῖν ἐκέλευεν, ὅπως μὴ παρακρούσομαι  
 μηδ' ἑξαπατήσω, δεινὸν καὶ γόητα καὶ σοφιστὴν καὶ  
 τὰ τοιαῦτ' ὀνομάζων, ὥς ἂν πρότερός τις εἶπη τὰ 5  
 προσόνθ' ἑαυτῷ περὶ ἄλλου, καὶ δὴ ταῦθ' οὕτως  
 ἔχοντα, καὶ οὐκέτι τοὺς ἀκούοντας σκεψομένους τίς  
 ποτ' αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ ταῦτα λέγων. ἐγὼ δ' οἶδ' ὅτι  
 γιγνώσκετε τοῦτον ἅπαντες, καὶ πολὺ τούτῳ μᾶλλον  
 ἢ ἐμοὶ νομίζετε ταῦτα προσεῖναι. κἀκεῖν' εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι 277  
 τὴν ἐμὴν δεινότητα—ἔστω γάρ. καίτοι ἐγωγ' ὀρῶ  
 τῆς τῶν λεγόντων δυνάμεως τοὺς ἀκούοντας τὸ πλεῖ-  
 στον κυρίους· ὥς γὰρ ἂν ὑμεῖς ἀποδέξεσθε καὶ πρὸς  
 ἕκαστον ἔχητ' εὐνοίας, οὕτως ὁ λέγων ἔδοξε φρονεῖν. 5  
 εἰ δ' οὖν ἐστι καὶ παρ' ἐμοὶ τις ἐμπειρία τοιαύτη,  
 ταύτην μὲν εὐρήσετε πάντες ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς ἐξεταζο-  
 μένῃν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν αἰεὶ καὶ οὐδαμοῦ καθ' ὑμῶν οὐδ'

venience) as if he had spoken (*quasi vero dixisset*, West.), though there is nothing conditional in the participle with ὥσπερ, which merely expresses comparison (M.T. 867): *having, as it were, spoken*, would be more correct, though less clear. See ὥσπερ οὐχ, § 323<sup>7</sup>, and note on ὥς (5).

3. ἐκέλευεν: sc. ὑμᾶς.—ὅπως μὴ παρακρούσομαι: the subject of the object clause appears by attraction (ἐμὲ) in the leading clause (M.T. 304<sup>2</sup>). This is a reply to Aesch. 16, 174, 206, 207, and other passages.

5—7. ὥς...οὕτως ἔχοντα (accus. abs., M.T. 853), i.e. *assuming that this must needs be so*. ὥς has no more conditional force than ὥσπερ (1), though we often find it convenient to use *as if* in translation (M.T. 864): notice οὐκέτι with σκεψομένους, *will not further consider*, showing that there is nothing conditional in the expression. τὰ προσόνθ' ἑαυτῷ, i.e. *things which are true of himself* (cf. προσεῖναι, l. 10).

§ 277. 2. ἔστω γάρ, *well! grant that I have it*. Having broken his sentence, he proceeds to say that the hearers have it in their power to neutralize the highest gifts of eloquence by refusing to listen. See XIX. 340, αἱ μὲν τοίνυν ἄλλαι δυνάμεις ἐπιεικῶς εἰσὶν ἀντάρκει, ἡ δὲ τοῦ λέγειν, ἂν τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν τῶν ἀκούοντων ἀντιστῇ, διακόπτεται.

4. ὥς ἂν...πρὸς ἕκαστον ἔχητ' εὐνοίας, i.e. *according to your goodwill towards each*, εὐνοίας being partitive with ὥς, as in εἰς τοῦτο εὐνοίας. (G. 1092.) Cf. Thuc. 1. 22.

5. οὕτως φρονεῖν, i.e. *εὖ or κακῶς φρονεῖν*.

6. ἐμπειρία, substituted modestly for the stronger δεινότητα of l. 2; the original construction being resumed by ταύτην (7).

7. ἐξεταζομένην ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, *marshalled on your side*, the familiar military figure: see notes on § 173<sup>5</sup> and § 173<sup>6</sup>.

ιδία, τὴν δὲ τούτου τοῦναντίον οὐ μόνον τῷ λέγειν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἴ τις ἐλύπησέ τι τοῦτον 10 ἢ προσέκρουσέ που, κατὰ τούτων. οὐ γὰρ αὐτῇ δικαίως, οὐδ' ἐφ' ᾧ συμφέρει τῇ πόλει, χρήται. οὔτε 278 γὰρ τὴν ὀργὴν οὔτε τὴν ἐχθραν οὐτ' ἄλλ' οὐδὲν τῶν τοιούτων τὸν καλὸν καγαθὸν πολύντην δεῖ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν εἰσεληλυθότας δικαστὰς ἀξιοῦν αὐτῷ βεβαιῶν, οὐδ' ὑπὲρ τούτων εἰς ὑμᾶς εἰσιέναι, ἀλλὰ 5 μάλιστα μὲν μὴ ἔχειν ταῦτ' ἐν τῇ φύσει, εἰ δ' ἄρ' ἀνάγκη, πρῶως καὶ μετρίως διακείμεν' ἔχειν. ἐν τίσιν οὖν σφοδρὸν εἶναι τὸν πολιτευόμενον καὶ τὸν ῥήτορα δεῖ; ἐν οἷς τῶν ὅλων τι κινδυνεύεται τῇ πόλει, καὶ ἐν οἷς πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐστὶ τῷ δήμῳ, 10 ἐν τούτοις· ταῦτα γὰρ γενναίου καὶ ἀγαθοῦ πολίτου.

319 μηδενὸς δ' ἀδικήματος πῶποτε δημοσίου—προσθήσω 279 δὲ μηδ' ἰδίου—δίκην ἀξιώσαντα λαβεῖν παρ' ἐμοῦ, μήθ' ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως μήθ' ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, στεφάνου

9. τοῦναντίον (adv.): sc. ἐξεταζομένην εὐρήσετε.

11. κατὰ τούτων (sc. τῷ λέγειν), opposed to ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν. τούτων refers loosely to τις: see § 99<sup>8</sup> and 11. 18, εἰ τις...τούτους. We are all familiar with *anybody* becoming *them* in conversation. The whole expression εἰ τις ἐλύπησέ τι...κατὰ τούτων (*gratifying private grudges*) is opposed to οὐδ' ἰδίᾳ (8), as ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν is opposed to ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν (8).

§ 278. 3. ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν, with εἰσεληλυθότας, i.e. *who have come into court to give judgment for the public good*, opposed to ὀργὴν...βεβαιῶν.

4. ἀξιοῦν αὐτῷ βεβαιῶν, *to ask (them) to confirm for him*, i.e. by condemning his opponent.

5. ὑπὲρ τούτων, *for these ends*, i.e. to gratify his ὀργή or ἐχθρα.

6. μάλιστα μὲν, *best of all*.—εἰ δ' ἄρ' ἀνάγκη, i.e. *but if after all he must have these feelings*. Cf. § 178<sup>12</sup>.

7. ἐν τίσιν...δεῖ; when should an orator use all his vehemence?

9. τῶν ὅλων τι, *any of the supreme (entire) interests of the state*: cf. §§ 28<sup>9</sup>, 303<sup>9</sup>.

10. ἐστὶ τῷ δήμῳ, *the people are concerned*, etc.

11. ἐν τούτοις: with strongest emphasis, in reply to ἐν τίσιν;

§ 279. Still answering the question ἐν τίσιν...δεῖ; (§ 278<sup>7</sup>), he describes the present suit as one which does not justify vehemence in an orator.

2. μηδ' ἰδίου (sc. ἀδικήματος) continues the construction of δημοσίου: cf. VIII. 39, 40, ἐχθρὸς ὅλη τῇ πόλει...προσθήσω δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις.

3. στεφάνου...κατηγορίαν, *an accusation against a crown and a vote of thanks (ἐπαίνου)* (i.e. against a proposition to confer these): nearly all decrees conferring a crown had the words ἐπαινέσαι καὶ στεφανῶσαι.

καὶ ἐπαίνου κατηγορίαν ἤκειν συνεσκευασμένον καὶ τοσουτουσὶ λόγους ἀνηλωκέναι, ἰδίας ἔχθρας καὶ 5 φθόνου καὶ μικροψυχίας ἐστὶ σημεῖον, οὐδενὸς χρηστοῦ. τὸ δὲ δὴ καὶ τοὺς πρὸς ἔμ' αὐτὸν ἀγῶνας ἔασαντα νῦν ἐπὶ τόνδ' ἤκειν καὶ πᾶσαν ἔχει κακίαν. καί μοι δοκεῖς ἐκ τούτων, Αἰσχίνη, λόγων ἐπίδειξιν 280 τινα καὶ φωνασκίας βουλόμενος ποιήσασθαι τούτου προελέσθαι τὸν ἀγῶνα, οὐκ ἀδικήματος οὐδενὸς λαβεῖν τιμωρίαν. ἔστι δ' οὐχ ὁ λόγος τοῦ ῥήτορος, Αἰσχίνη, τίμιον, οὐδ' ὁ τόνος τῆς φωνῆς, ἀλλὰ τὸ 5 ταῦτά προαιρεῖσθαι τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ τὸ τοὺς αὐτοὺς μισεῖν καὶ φιλεῖν οὗσπερ ἂν ἡ πατρίς. ὁ γὰρ οὕτως 281 ἔχων τὴν ψυχὴν, οὗτος ἐπ' εὐνοίᾳ πάντ' ἐρεῖ· ὁ δ' ἀφ' ὧν ἡ πόλις προορᾶται κίνδυνόν τιν' ἑαυτῇ, τούτους θεραπεύων οὐκ ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ὁρμῇ τοῖς πολλοῖς, οὐκουν οὐδὲ τῆς ἀσφαλείας τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχει 5 προσδοκίαν. ἀλλ'—ὁρᾷς;—ἐγώ· ταῦτά γὰρ συμφέ-

4. συνεσκευασμ., *having trumped up*.

6. μικροψυχίας, *littleness of soul*, opposed to μεγαλοψυχία, § 68<sup>4</sup>: cf. § 269<sup>4</sup>.—οὐδενὸς χρηστοῦ: neuter, cf. πάντα τὰ χρηστά, xx. 165.

7. τοὺς...ἀγῶνας ἔασαντα with ἐπὶ τόνδ' ἤκειν recurs to the idea of § 16.

8. καὶ strengthens πᾶσαν, *the very depth of baseness*.

§ 280. 2. φωνασκίας, *declamation* (practice of voice): cf. § 308<sup>10</sup>, and φωνασκήσας and πεφωνασκηκώς in xix. 255, 336.—τούτον τὸν ἀγῶνα, i.e. *this form of suit* (against Ctesiphon).

6. ταῦτά προαιρεῖσθαι τοῖς πολλοῖς: cf. §§ 281<sup>6</sup>, 292<sup>3</sup>.

§ 281. 4. τούτους renews emphatically the antecedent implied in ἀφ' ὧν.—οὐκ...ὁρμῇ (sc. ἀγκύρας), *does not ride at the same anchor*, an oft-quoted saying. See Harpocr. under οὐκ ἐπὶ τῆς κ.τ.λ., and Apo-

stolius xiii. 55 (Pseudoem. Gr. ii. p. 591): both note the ellipsis of ἀγκύρας. Another expression was ἐπὶ δυοῖν ὁρμῇ (sc. ἀγκύραις), ἐπὶ τῶν ἀστεμφῶς ἐχόντων (Apostol. vii. 61), to which Solon refers in his comparison of Athens with her two senates to a ship with two anchors: Plut. Sol. 19, οἰόμενος ἐπὶ δυοῖ βουλαῖς ὥσπερ ἀγκύραις ὁρμούσαν ἡττον ἐν σάλῳ τὴν πόλιν ἔσεσθαι. Cf. Soph. Ant. 188—190, quoted in xix. 247.

5. οὐκουν οὐδὲ: the two negatives unite their force, and that of οὖν, therefore, remains: οὐκουν οὐδὲ would give essentially the same sense.

6. ὁρᾷς; see οὐχ ὁρᾷς; §§ 232<sup>6</sup>, 266<sup>7</sup>, and οὐ γάρ; § 136<sup>2</sup>.—ἐγώ: the ellipsis may be supplied from οὕτως ἔχων τὴν ψυχὴν (1), with the preceding τὸ...μισεῖν καὶ φιλεῖν.

7. εἰλόμην, in the sense of προαιρεῖσθαι (§ 280<sup>6</sup>).—ἐξαίρετον, *exclusive*.

ρονθ' εἰλόμην τουτοισὶ, καὶ οὐδὲν ἐξαίρετον οὐδ' ἴδιον πεποιήμαι. ἄρ' οὖν οὐδὲ σύ; καὶ πῶς; ὃς 282 εὐθέως μετὰ τὴν μάχην πρεσβευτὴς ἐπορεύου πρὸς Φίλιππον, ὃς ἦν τῶν ἐκείνοις τοῖς χρόνοις συμφορῶν αἴτιος τῇ πατρίδι, καὶ ταῦτ' ἀρνούμενος πάντα τὸν ἔμπροσθε χρόνον ταύτην τὴν χρεῖαν, ὡς πάντες 5 ἴσασιν. καίτοι τίς ὁ τὴν πόλιν ἐξαπατῶν; οὐχ ὁ μὴ λέγων ἃ φρονεῖ; τῷ δ' ὁ κῆρυξ καταράται δικαίως; οὐ τῷ τοιούτῳ; τί δὲ μείζον ἔχοι τις ἂν 320 εἰπεῖν ἀδίκημα κατ' ἀνδρὸς ῥήτορος ἢ εἰ μὴ ταῦτ' αὖ φρονεῖ καὶ λέγει; σὺ τοίνυν οὗτος εὐρέθης. εἴτα σὺ 283 φθέγγει καὶ βλέπειν εἰς τὰ τούτων πρόσωπα τολμᾷς; πότερ' οὐχ ἡγεῖ γιννώσκειν αὐτοὺς ὅστις εἰ; ἢ τοσοῦτον ὕπνον καὶ λήθην ἅπαντας ἔχειν ὥστ' οὐ

§ 282. 1. ἄρ' οὖν οὐδὲ σύ; *can the same be said also of you?* i.e. οὐδὲν ...πεποιήσαι.

2. πρεσβυντὴς πρὸς Φίλιππον: Aeschines (III. 227) says of this, τῆς μάχης ἐπιγενομένης...ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας τῆς πόλεως ἐπρεσβεύομεν. Aeschines, Demades (from whom the peace was named, § 285<sup>6</sup>), and probably Phocion, went to Philip to negotiate a peace after Chaeronea. See Hist. § 68.

5. ταύτην τὴν χρεῖαν: this, taken with τὸν ἔμπροσθε χρόνον, refers to earlier personal intercourse with Philip. Aeschines is now less anxious to repudiate this charge, in the day of Alexander's great success in Asia: see III. 66, ὁ γὰρ μισαλέξανδρος νυνὶ φάσκων εἶναι καὶ τότε μισοφίλιππος Δημοσθένης, ὁ τὴν ξενίαν ἐμοὶ προσφέρων τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου, and cf. §§ 51, 52 (above).

6. ὁ μὴ λέγων=ὃς μὴ λέγει.

7. καταράται: a most comprehensive curse (ἀρά) was a part of the religious ceremony on the opening

of each meeting of the Senate and Assembly. See XXIII. 97: διόπερ καταράται καθ' ἐκάστην ἐκκλησίαν ὁ κῆρυξ...εἰ τις ἐξαπατᾷ λέγων ἢ βουλὴν ἢ δῆμον ἢ τὴν ἡλιαίαν. Aeschines, as ὑπογραμματεύων ὑμῖν καὶ ὑπηρετῶν τῇ βουλῇ, had the duty of dictating this curse to the herald. See Dinarch. 1. 47 (of Demosth.), κατάρματος δὲ καθ' ἐκάστην ἐκκλησίαν γινόμενος, ἐξηληλεγμένος δῶρα κατὰ τῆς πόλεως εἰληφώς, ἐξηπατηκώς δὲ καὶ τὸν δῆμον καὶ τὴν βουλὴν παρὰ τὴν ἀράν, καὶ ἕτερα μὲν λέγων ἕτερα δὲ φρονῶν, which shows that ὁ μὴ λέγων ἃ φρονεῖ (6) was included in the same curse. See note on § 130<sup>2</sup>.

10. οὗτος: cf. ἐφάνην οὗτος ἐγώ, § 173<sup>1</sup>.

§ 283. 4. ὥστ' οὐ μνησθῆναι, (so) that they do not remember, not (so) as not to remember: this is a regular case of ὥστε οὐ with the infinitive in indirect discourse, where the direct form would have been τοσοῦτον ὕπνον...ἔχουσιν ὥστ' οὐ μέμνηνται (M.T. 594).

μεμνήσθαι τοὺς λόγους οὓς ἐδημηγόρεις ἐν τῷ πο- 5  
λέμῳ, καταρώμενος καὶ διομνύμενος μηδὲν εἶναι σοὶ  
καὶ Φιλίππῳ πρᾶγμα, ἀλλ' ἐμὲ τὴν αἰτίαν σοι  
ταύτην ἐπάγειν τῆς ἰδίας ἔνεκ' ἔχθρας, οὐκ οὔσαν  
ἀληθῆ. ὥς δ' ἀπηγγέλθη τάχισθ' ἡ μάχη, οὐδὲν 284  
τούτων φροντίσας εὐθέως ὡμολόγεις καὶ προσεποιοῦ  
φιλίαν καὶ ξενίαν εἶναί σοι πρὸς αὐτὸν, τῇ μισθαρνίᾳ  
ταῦτα μετατιθέμενος τὰ ὀνόματα· ἐκ ποίας γὰρ ἴσης  
ἢ δικαίας προφάσεως Αἰσχίνῃ τῷ Γλαυκροθέας τῆς 5  
τυμπανιστρίας ξένος ἢ φίλος ἢ γνώριμος ἦν Φίλιπ-  
πος; ἐγὼ μὲν οὐχ ὀρώ, ἀλλ' ἐμισθώθης ἐπὶ τῷ τὰ  
τουτωνὶ συμφέροντα διαφθείρειν. ἀλλ' ὅμως, οὕτω  
φανερῶς αὐτὸς εἰλημμένος προδότης καὶ κατὰ σαυτοῦ  
μηνυτῆς ἐπὶ ταῖς συμβάσει γεγονώς, ἐμοὶ λοιδορεῖ 10  
καὶ ὀνειδίζεις ταῦτα, ὧν πάντας μᾶλλον αἰτίους  
εὐρήσεις.

Πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ καὶ μεγάλα ἡ πόλις, Αἰσχίνῃ, 285

5. ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ: opposed to  
μετὰ τὴν μάχην (§ 282<sup>2</sup>) when Ae-  
schines went on his embassy to  
Philip.

6. καταρώμενος καὶ διομνύμενος,  
*cursing* (i.e. protesting, with curses  
on himself if he was false) and  
*swearing*; like Matth. Evang. xxvi.  
74, τότε ἤρξατο (Πέτρος) καταθεματί-  
ζειν καὶ ὀμνεῖν, *then began he to curse*  
and to swear.

7. τὴν αἰτίαν ταύτην: i.e. *the*  
*charge* of intimate relations with  
Philip.

§ 284. 2. ὡμολόγεις: i.e. your  
friendship with Philip.

3. φιλίαν καὶ ξενίαν: see §§ 51,  
52.

4. μετατιθέμενος, *substituting* (*ap-  
plying by exchange*).

6. τυμπανιστρίας, *timbrel-beater*:  
the *τύμπανον*, *kettle-drum*, was a  
favourite instrument in the Asiatic  
ceremonies described in §§ 259, 260.

—ἢ γνώριμος, or even an acquaintance.

9. κατὰ σαυτοῦ...συμβάσει, an  
*informer* against yourself after the  
facts, whereas παρὰ τὰ συμβάντα (cf.  
§ 285<sup>4</sup>) he had denied everything  
which told against him (§ 283<sup>6</sup>). See  
§ 197<sup>9</sup> and note.

11. πάντας μᾶλλον, i.e. *any rather*  
*than myself*: most mss. (not Σ and  
L<sup>1</sup>) add the implied ἢ ἐμὲ.

§ 285. 1. πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ  
κ.τ.λ.: these accusatives are direct  
objects of *προεῖλετο*, but cognate with  
*κατάρθωσθε*. Demosth. invariably uses  
*κατορθῶ* in its neuter sense of *succeed*,  
as in § 274<sup>9</sup>, οὐ κατάρθωσθε. If an  
object is added, as in XXI. 106, εἰ  
γὰρ ἐν ὧν ἐπεβοῦλευσε κατάρθωσεν,  
it is cognate: see XXIV. 7, XXXVII. 2.  
So in Cor. § 290<sup>3</sup> τοῦ κατορθοῦν τοὺς  
ἀγωνιζομένους is not *causing* the com-  
batants to succeed, but *the success of*  
*the combatants*, as in πάντα κατορθοῦν,

καὶ προείλετο καὶ κατώρθωσε δι' ἐμοῦ, ὃν οὐκ ἡμνη-  
μόνησεν. σημεῖον δέ· χειροτόνων γὰρ ὁ δῆμος τὸν  
ἐροῦντ' ἐπὶ τοῖς τετελευτηκόσι παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ συμ-  
βάντα οὐ σὲ ἐχειροτόνησεν προβληθέντα, καίπερ 5  
εὐφώνου ὄντα, οὐδὲ Δημάδην, ἄρτι πεποιηκότα τὴν  
εἰρήνην, οὐδ' Ἡγήμονα, οὐδ' ἄλλον ἡμῶν οὐδένα,  
ἀλλ' ἐμέ. καὶ παρελθόντος σοῦ καὶ Πυθοκλέους  
321 ὡμῶς καὶ ἀναιδῶς, ὦ Ζεῦ καὶ θεοὶ, καὶ κατηγορούν-  
των ἐμοῦ ταῦθ' ἃ καὶ σὺ νυνὶ καὶ λοιδορουμένων, ἔτ' 10  
ἄμεινον ἐχειροτόνησέν με. τὸ δ' αἴτιον οὐκ ἀγνοεῖς 286  
μὲν, ὅμως δὲ φράσω σοι καὶ γὰρ. ἀμφότερ' ἤδεσαν  
αὐτοὶ, τὴν τ' ἐμὴν εὐνοίαν καὶ προθυμίαν μεθ' ἧς τὰ  
πράγματ' ἔπραττον, καὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀδικίαν· ἃ  
γὰρ εὐθενούντων τῶν πραγμάτων ἡρνεῖσθε διομνύ- 5  
μενοι, ταῦτ' ἐν οἷς ἔπταισεν ἡ πόλις ὁμολογήσατε.  
τοὺς οὖν ἐπὶ τοῖς κοινοῖς ἀτυχήμασιν ὧν ἐφρόνου  
λαβόντας ἄδειαν ἐχθροὺς μὲν πάλαι, φανεροὺς δὲ

*to succeed in all things, just preceding. In other authors κατορθῶ is often active, as in Soph. El. 416, κατώρθωσαν βροτοῖς.*

3. τὸν ἐροῦντ', i.e. the orator for the public funeral. The funeral eulogy on those who fell in battle was first introduced (acc. to Diod. xi. 33) in the Persian wars. We have one genuine ἐπιτάφιος λόγος, that of Hyperides in honour of those who fell in the Lamian war (322 B.C.); the famous eulogy of Pericles in 430 B.C., given in the words of Thucydides (ii. 35—46); with one in Plat. Menex. (236—249), sportively ascribed to Aspasia by Socrates. The one ascribed to Lysias (ii.) is of doubtful authenticity, and that found among the speeches of Demosthenes (lx.) is certainly spurious.

4. παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ συμβάντα: i.e. when there might have been a strong public prejudice against him,

as a leader who had failed (cf. § 248<sup>7</sup>).

5. προβληθέντα, nominated: cf. § 149<sup>3</sup>.

7. Ἡγήμονα, mentioned by Aeschines (iii. 25): he belonged to the Macedonian party at Athens with Demades and Pythocles.

8. παρελθόντος before σοῦ καὶ Πυθοκλέους, but κατηγορούντων after these words.

10. ἃ καὶ σὺ νυνὶ, i.e. which you again (καὶ) now charge me with.—  
ἔτ' ἄμεινον, all the more eagerly.

§ 286. 3. αὐτοὶ, of themselves (without being told).

4—6. ἃ γὰρ... ὁμολογήσατε repeats for the whole Macedonian party what was said of Aeschines in §§ 282, 283. For διομνύμενοι see § 283<sup>6</sup>.

7. τοὺς... λαβόντας ἄδειαν, i.e. those who gained license to speak their minds with impunity, etc. See §§ 198, 263<sup>7</sup>.

τόθ' ἡγήσαντο αὐτοῖς γεγενῆσθαι· εἴτα καὶ προσή- 287  
 κειν [ὑπολαμβάνοντες] τὸν ἐροῦντ' ἐπὶ τοῖς τετελευ-  
 τηκόσι καὶ τὴν ἐκείνων ἀρετὴν κοσμήσουτα μήθ'  
 ὁμωρόφιον μήθ' ὁμόσπονδον γεγενημένον εἶναι τοῖς  
 πρὸς ἐκείνους παραταξαμένοις, μηδ' ἐκεῖ μὲν κωμά- 5  
 ζειν καὶ παιωνίζειν ἐπὶ ταῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων συμφοραῖς  
 μετὰ τῶν αὐτοχείρων τοῦ φόνου, δεῦρο δ' ἐλθόντα  
 τιμᾶσθαι, μηδὲ τῇ φωνῇ δακρύειν ὑποκρινόμενον τὴν  
 ἐκείνων τύχην, ἀλλὰ τῇ ψυχῇ συναλγεῖν. τοῦτο δ'  
 ἑώραν παρ' ἑαυτοῖς καὶ παρ' ἐμοῖ, παρὰ δ' ὑμῖν οὐ. 10  
 διὰ ταῦτ' ἔμ' ἐχειροτόνησαν καὶ οὐχ ὑμᾶς. καὶ οὐχ 288  
 ὁ μὲν δῆμος οὕτως, οἱ δὲ τῶν τετελευτηκότων πατέρες

287. 1. εἴτα καὶ προσήκειν: *sc. ἡγήσαντο* (from § 286<sup>9</sup>). I bracket ὑπολαμβάνοντες with Blass: a mere carelessness in style, aiming at no rhetorical effect, seems inadmissible in this oration: see note on § 317<sup>6</sup>.

4. ὁμωρόφον: to be under the same roof with anyone had a peculiar significance to the Greeks. Trials for homicide were held in the open air that neither the judges nor the prosecutor (usually a relative) might be under the same roof with the accused.—γεγενημένον εἶναι, not a mere pleonasm for γεγενῆσθαι, but expressing more forcibly the combination of past and future which is often seen in γεγενῆσθαι (M.T. 102, 109), i.e. they thought he should not be one who had been under the same roof, etc.

5. παραταξαμένοις: see § 208<sup>5</sup>, and note on συμπαταξαμένοι, § 216<sup>5</sup>.—ἐκεῖ κωμάζειν: the revelling in Philip's camp after the victory at Chaeronea was notorious. See Plut. *idem*, 20, where the story is told of the drunken Philip rushing out among the slain and chanting the introductory words of the decrees of Demosthenes, which make an iambic tetrameter:

Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παιανιεὺς τὰδ' εἶπεν. See XIX. 128, where Aeschines is charged with joining familiarly in the festivities held by Philip after the destruction of the Phocians (see 'List. § 38).

7. τῶν αὐτοχείρων: αὐτόχειρ is properly one who commits any deed by his own hands or by his own act, as in Soph. Ant. 306, τὸν αὐτόχειρα τοῦδε τοῦ τάφου. It also, when φόνου is easily understood, means a murderer, as in Eur. H. F. 1359, παίδων αὐθέντην ἐμῶν.

8. τῇ φωνῇ δακρύειν: a strong metaphor, opposed to τῇ ψυχῇ συναλγεῖν (9).—ὑποκρινόμενον, like a play-actor.—τὴν τύχην: object of δακρύειν. Blass takes it with ὑποκρινόμενον, as in XIX. 246, Ἀντιγόνην ὑποκρίεται.

11. ὑμᾶς, i.e. any one of you. Cf. ὑμῶν, § 285<sup>7</sup>.

§ 288. 1. οὐχ, negating the two clauses with μὲν and δέ: cf. § 13<sup>11</sup>, and the grand climax in § 179, with notes.

2. πατέρες καὶ ἀδελφοί: the public funeral was in charge of a committee of relatives of those who had fallen.

καὶ ἀδελφοὶ οἱ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τόθ' αἵρεθέντες ἐπὶ  
τὰς ταφὰς ἄλλως πως· ἀλλὰ δέον ποιεῖν αὐτοὺς τὸ  
περίδειπνον ὡς παρ' οἰκειοτάτῳ τῶν τετελευτηκότων, 5  
ὥσπερ τὰλλ' εἴωθε γίγνεσθαι, τοῦτ' ἐποίησαν παρ'  
ἐμοί. εἰκότως· γένει μὲν γὰρ ἕκαστος ἐκάστῳ μάλ-

322 ῶ γὰρ ἐκείνους σωθῆναι καὶ κατορθῶσαι μάλιστα  
διέφερεν, οὗτος καὶ παθόντων (ἂ μήποτ' ὥφελον τῆς 10  
ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων λύπης πλείστον μετείχεν.

Λέγε δ' αὐτῷ τουτὶ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα, ὃ δημοσίᾳ 289  
προεῖλεθ' ἡ πόλις αὐτοῖς ἐπιγράψαι, ἵν' εἰδῆς,  
Αἰσχίνη, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τούτῳ σαντὸν ἀγνώμονα καὶ  
συκοφάντην ὄντα καὶ μιάρων. λέγε.

## ΕΠΙΓΡΑΜΜΑ.

[Οἶδε πάτρας ἔνεκα σφετέρας εἰς δῆρην ἔθεντο  
ὄπλα, καὶ ἀντιπάλων ὕβριν ἀπεσκέδασαν.

4. τὸ περίδειπνον, *the funeral banquet*: see Hermann (Blümner), Gr. Priv. Ant. § 39 (p. 371); Smith, Dict. Ant. under *Funus*.

5. ὡς παρ' οἰκειοτάτῳ, *at the house of him who stood in the closest possible relation to the deceased*, as at private funerals *the nearest relative*. ὡς belongs to οἰκειοτάτῳ, in the usual intensive sense: cf. § 246<sup>8</sup>, ὡς εἰς ἐλάχιστα.

6. ὥσπερ... γίγνεσθαι, i.e. as is the custom at private funerals.—ἐποίησαν: like ποιεῖν in 4.

9. ᾧ... διέφερεν, i.e. *who had most at stake*, i.e. in their success.

10. καί, *likewise*.—ἂ μήποτ' ὥφελον (sc. παθεῖν), lit. *which would they had never suffered*: this rather poetic form of an unattained wish is used here for animation, and again in § 320<sup>6</sup>. See M.T. 734, 736.

§ 289. 1. δημοσίᾳ, with ἐπιγράψαι.

2. προεῖλεθ' ἡ πόλις, more formal than ἔδοξε τῇ πόλει, perhaps implying (as H. Jackson suggests) a *choice* from epigrams sent in by competing poets—ἵν' εἰδῆς... μιάρων: explained in § 290.

ΕΠΙΓΡΑΜ. This cannot be the real epitaph inscribed on the public monument of the heroes of Chae-  
ronea. It has too little poetic merit and too slovenly a style to be accepted as genuine. It is not in the older MSS., and it appears in the Anthol. Graeca, IV. p. 249 (Jacobs). We can be sure of one genuine verse (9), which is quoted by Demosthenes in § 290<sup>1</sup> (see note on this verse). A small fragment of an inscription has been found at Athens, cut (acc. to Köhler) between 350 and 300 B.C.,

μαρνάμενοι δ' ἀρετῆς καὶ δείματος οὐκ ἐσώσαν  
 ψυχὰς ἄλλ' Ἀἰδὸν κοινὸν ἔθεντο βραβῆ,  
 οὐνεκεν Ἑλλήνων, ὥς μὴ ζυγὸν αὐχένι θέντες (5)  
 δουλοσύνης στυγερὰν ἀμφὶς ἔχουσιν ὕβριν.  
 γαῖα δὲ πατρίς ἔχει κόλποις τῶν πλείστα καμόντων  
 σώματ', ἐπεὶ θνητοῖς ἐκ Διὸς ἦδε κρίσις·  
 μὴδὲν ἀμαρτεῖν ἐστὶ θεῶν καὶ πάντα κατορθοῦν  
 ἐν βιοτῇ· μοῖραν δ' οὐ τι φυγεῖν ἔπορεν.] (10)

which contains parts of six words of an epigram in the Anthol. Pal. vii. 245: this epigram was evidently inscribed to the heroes of Chaeronea. The full epigram is as follows, the letters found in the inscription being printed in heavy type:—

ὦ Χρόνε, παντοίων θνητοῖς πανεπί-  
 σκοπε δαῖμον,

Ἄγγελος ἡμετέρων πᾶσι γενοῦ πά-  
 θεων

ὣς ἱερὰν σφίξειν περὶ ὧμενοι Ἑλλάδα  
 χῶραν

Βοιωτῶν κλεινοῖς θηήσκομεν ἐν διαπέ-  
 δοις.

This, though genuine, cannot be the inscription quoted by Demosthenes, as it does not have the verse *μηδὲν... κατορθοῦν*; but there were undoubtedly many epigrams commemorating the men of Chaeronea.

v. 1. *ἔθεντο ὄπλα*, arrayed themselves (lit. placed their arms): see Arist. Pol. Ath. 8<sup>29</sup>, *ὅς ἐν στασιαζούσης τῆς πόλεως μὴ θῆται τὰ ὄπλα μηδὲ μεθ' ἐτέρων*, i.e. *who takes sides with neither party*. So Plat. Rep. 440 E. This is enough to show that the old interpretation of *τίθεσθαι ὄπλα* (as in Thuc. ii. 2, twice), *to pile and stack arms*, is untenable, though it still lingers.

v. 2. *ἀπισκίδασαν*, scattered, brought to nought: a patriotic exaggeration as applied to Chaeronea, perhaps referring to some special exploits of the Athenians. Diod. (xvi. 86) says, *μέχρι μὲν τινος ὁ ἀγὼν*

*ἀμφιδοξομένως εἶχε τὰς ἐλπίδας τῆς νίκης*. Cf. Lyeurgus (Lycoc. 49), *εἰ δὲ δεῖ καὶ παραδοξότατον μὲν εἶπεν ἀληθές δὲ, ἐκείνοι νικῶντες ἀπέθανον*.

v. 3. *ἀρετῆς καὶ δείματος* must depend on *βραβῆ*, *arbiter*, by an *hyperbaton* which would be incredible in the genuine epitaph; *οὐκ ἐσώσαν ψυχὰς ἄλλ'* being introduced in place of a participial clause like *οὐ σώσαντες ψυχὰς*. The meaning evidently is, *in the battle, while they sacrificed their lives, they left to the God of Death to judge whether they showed courage or fear*. There is a similar *hyperbaton* in Xen. Hell. vii. 3, 7: *ὅμεις τοὺς περὶ Ἀρχίαν καὶ Ὑπάτην, ... οὐ ψήφον ἀνελίνατε, ἀλλ' ὅποτε πρῶτον ἐδυνάσθητε ἐπιμαρῆσασθε* (West.).

v. 5. *οὐνεκεν Ἑλλήνων* belongs to vv. 3, 4.—*ζυγὸν αὐχένι θέντες*, a strange expression for classical times, but common in later poetry, as in the Anthology (Blass).

v. 6. *ἀμφὶς ἔχουσιν* (with *μή*), *have about them, wear*, like a yoke: cf. Od. iii. 486, *σεῖον ζυγὸν ἀμφὶς ἔχοντες*.

v. 7. *τῶν πλείστα καμόντων*, of men who most grievously laboured, referring to the defeat; to these words *ἐπεὶ* (v. 8) refers back.

vv. 9, 10. *μηδὲν... ἐν βιοτῇ*, *it is the gift of the Gods (for men) never to fail and always to succeed in life*, i.e. this is a miraculous exception in mortal life; opposed to which is the

Ἀκούεις, Αἰσχίνη, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τούτῳ μηδὲν ἁμαρ- 290  
τεῖν ἐστὶ θεῶν καὶ πάντα κατορθοῦν; οὐ τῷ  
συμβούλῳ τὴν τοῦ κατορθοῦν τοῖς ἀγωνιζομένους  
ἀνέθηκε δύναμιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς θεοῖς. τί οὖν, ὦ κατάρατ',  
ἐμοὶ περὶ τούτων λοιδορεῖ, καὶ λέγεις ἃ σοὶ καὶ τοῖς 5  
σοῖς οἱ θεοὶ τρέφειαν εἰς κεφαλὴν;

Πολλὰ τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ ἄλλα 291  
κατηγορηκóτος αὐτοῦ καὶ κατεψευσμένου, μάλιστα  
ἐθαύμασα πάντων ὅτε τῶν συμβεβηκóτων τότε τῇ  
πόλει μνησθεῖς οὐχ ὥς ἂν εὖνους καὶ δίκαιος πολί-  
της ἔσχε τὴν γνώμην, οὐδ' ἐδάκρυσεν, οὐδ' ἔπαθε 5  
τοιούτου οὐδὲν τῇ ψυχῇ, ἀλλ' ἐπάρας τὴν φωνὴν καὶ

fixed rule that death is appointed for all, μοῖραν...ἔπορεν (sc. θεῶν βροτοῖς). The two verses contain the ἐκ Διὸς κρίσις; but the change of construction in μοῖραν...ἔπορεν is awkward, and ἐν βιοτῇ is an unnatural addition to v. 9. It is now known that μηδὲν ἁμαρτεῖν ἐστὶ θεοῦ (or θεῶν) καὶ πάντα κατορθοῦν is a verse of the epigram of Simonides on the heroes of Marathon, of which two other lines are preserved:

Ἑλλήνων προμαχοῦντες Ἀθηναῖοι  
Μαραθῶνι  
χρυσοφόρων Μῆδων ἐστόρεσαν δύνα-  
μιν.

Kirchhoff (Hermes vi. pp. 487—489) quotes from a MS. scholium: λέγει δὲ Σιμωνίδης ἐν ἐπιγράμματι ρηθέντι αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τοῖς Μαραθῶνι πεσοῦσιν Ἀθηναίων τὸν στίχον τοῦτον, Μηδὲν ἁμαρτεῖν ἐστὶ θεοῦ καὶ πάντα κατορθοῦν. See Bergk, Poet. Lyr., Simon. fr. 82, with the note. See Themist. Or. xxii. p. 276 B, ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ μηδὲν ἁμαρτάνειν ἕξω τῆς φύσεως κείται τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης, ...τὸ ἐπίγραμμα ἀληθέστερον δ' Ἀθήνησιν ἐπιγέγραπται ἐν τῷ τάφῳ τῷ δημοσίῳ· καὶ γὰρ τοῖς θεοῖς μόνοις τὸ πάντα κατορθοῦν

ἀπονέμει. These two quotations refer to a verse in which "never to fail and always to succeed" is called a divine prerogative; while in the same words in the inscription quoted by Demosthenes these are called a privilege sometimes granted by the Gods to favoured mortals (see § 290). The original verse of Simonides, μηδὲν... κατορθοῦν (without ἐν βιοτῇ), was probably used, as a well-known verse, in the genuine epigram on those who fell at Chaeronea (still without ἐν βιοτῇ), but with a different meaning; and in this new sense it was quoted by Demosthenes in § 290. The writer of our epigram probably borrowed the genuine line (perhaps from the text of Demosthenes), and added the whole of v. 10. See notes of West and Bl.

§ 290. 4. ἀνέθηκε: the epigram or its composer, or perhaps ἡ πόλις, is the subject.

5. α...εἰς κεφαλὴν; cf. XIX. 130, ἀ νῦν εἰς κεφαλὴν ὑμᾶς αὐτῷ δεῖ τρέψαι, and § 294<sup>8</sup> (below).

§ 291. 4. ὥς ἂν: sc. ἔσχε or σχολεῖ: cf. § 197<sup>8</sup>.

5. ἔσχε τὴν γνώμην, was disposed.

323 γεγηθώς καὶ λαρυγγίζων ᾤετο μὲν ἐμοῦ κατηγορεῖν  
 δηλονότι, δείγμα δ' ἐξέφερε καθ' ἑαυτοῦ ὅτι τοῖς  
 γεγενημένοις ἀνιαιροῖς οὐδὲν ὁμοίως ἔσχε τοῖς ἄλλοις.  
 καίτοι τὸν τῶν νόμων καὶ τῆς πολιτείας φάσκοντα 292  
 φροντίζειν, ὥσπερ οὗτος νυνὶ, καὶ εἰ μηδὲν ἄλλο,  
 τοῦτό γ' ἔχειν δεῖ, ταῦτά λυπέσθαι καὶ ταῦτά  
 χαίρειν τοῖς πολλοῖς, καὶ μὴ τῇ προαιρέσει τῶν  
 κοινῶν ἐν τῷ τῶν ἐναντίων μέρει τετάχθαι· ὁ σὺ 5  
 νυνὶ πεποιηκὼς εἰ φανερός, ἐμὲ πάντων αἴτιον καὶ  
 δι' ἐμὲ εἰς πράγματα φάσκων ἐμπεσεῖν τὴν πόλιν,  
 οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐμῆς πολιτείας οὐδὲ προαιρέσεως ἀρξα-  
 μένων ὑμῶν τοῖς Ἑλλησι βοηθεῖν· ἐπεὶ ἔμοιγ' εἰ 293  
 τοῦτο δοθείη παρ' ὑμῶν, δι' ἐμὲ ὑμᾶς ἡναντιώσθαι  
 τῇ κατὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀρχῇ πραττομένῃ, μείζων ἂν  
 δοθείη δωρεὰ συμπασῶν ὧν τοῖς ἄλλοις δεδώκατε.  
 ἀλλ' οὐτ' ἂν ἐγὼ ταῦτα φῆσαιμι (ἀδικοῖν γὰρ ἂν 5  
 ὑμᾶς), οὐτ' ἂν ὑμεῖς εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι συγχωρήσαιτε·  
 οὐτός τ' εἰ δίκαια ἐποίει, οὐκ ἂν ἔνεκα τῆς πρὸς ἐμὲ

7. λαρυγγίζων: see Harpocr., τὸ πλατύνειν τὴν φωνὴν καὶ μὴ κατὰ φύσιν φθέγγεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐπιτηδεύειν περιεργότερον τῷ λάρυγγι χρῆσθαι οὕτως ἐλέγγο. Cf. Ar. Eq. 358, λαρυγγιῶ τοὺς ῥήτορας, *I will screech down the orators.*

8. δείγμα ἐξέφερε, *he was making an exhibition, giving a specimen*: cf. XIX. 12.—ὅτι...τοῖς ἄλλοις: depending on the verbal force of δείγμα.—τοῖς γεγεν. ἀνιαιροῖς: causal dative with ἔσχε, *was affected*; cf. ἔσχε τὴν γνώμην (5).

9. τοῖς ἄλλοις: with ὁμοίως.

§ 292. 1. τῶν νόμων: Aeschines began his speech (1—8) with a grand glorification of the laws, and of the γραφὴ παρανόμων as the great bulwark of the constitution.

3. ταῦτά...τοῖς πολλοῖς: cf. § 280<sup>b</sup>.

4. τῇ προαιρέσει τῶν κοινῶν: c. § 192<sup>b</sup> and l. 8 (below); see §§ 93, 317<sup>b</sup>.

5. τετάχθαι, *to be found (posted)*

6. πεποιηκὼς: in *or. obl.* with εἰ φανερός (M.T. 907).

7. πράγματα, *troubles*: cf. Ar. Ach. 310, ἀπάντων αἰτίους τῶν πραγμάτων. See Aesch. III. 57.

8. οὐκ...βοηθεῖν: i.e. the policy of helping friendly states against Philip has followed the true traditions of Athens: see §§ 95—100. Demosth. here only denies that he *began* this policy (οὐκ ἀρξαμένων).

§ 293. 3. τῇ...πραττομένῃ, *the dominion which was growing up*: cf. § 62<sup>2</sup>.

6. εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι, as usual, parenthetic: οἶδ' ὅτι can be thus used even with a participle, as in IX. 1, XIX. 9.

ἔχθρας τὰ μέγιστα τῶν ὑμετέρων καλῶν ἐβλαπτε<sup>damas</sup>  
καὶ διέβαλλεν.

Ἀλλὰ τί ταύτ' ἐπιτιμῶ, πολλῶ σχετλιώτερ' 294  
ἄλλα κατηγορηκός αὐτοῦ καὶ κατεψεύσμενος; ὃς  
γὰρ ἐμοῦ φιλιππισμὸν, ὃ γῇ καὶ θεοί, κατηγορεῖ, τί  
οὗτος οὐκ ἂν εἴποι; καίτοι νῆ τὸν Ἡρακλέα καὶ  
πάντας θεοὺς, εἴ γ' ἐπ' ἀληθείας δέοι σκοπεῖσθαι, τὸ 5  
καταψεύδεσθαι καὶ δι' ἔχθραν τι λέγειν ἀνελόντας<sup>ancl-ny</sup>  
ἐκ μέσου, τίνες ὡς ἀληθῶς εἰσιν οἷς ἂν εἰκότως καὶ  
δικαίως τὴν τῶν γεγεννημένων αἰτίαν ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν  
324 ἀναθεῖεν ἅπαντες, τοὺς ὁμοίους τούτῳ παρ' ἐκάστη  
τῶν πόλεων εὖροιτ' ἂν, οὐ τοὺς ἐμοί· οἱ, ὅτ' ἦν 295  
ἀσθενῇ τὰ Φιλίππου πράγματα καὶ κομιδῇ μικρὰ,  
πολλάκις προλεγόντων ἡμῶν καὶ παρακαλούντων  
καὶ διδασκόντων τὰ βέλτιστα, τῆς ἰδίας ἕνεκ'  
αἰσχροκερδίας τὰ κοινῇ συμφέροντα προῖεντο, τοὺς 5

§ 294. ἐβλαπτε καὶ διέβαλλεν (with  
conative).

In §§ 294—296 Demosthenes  
gives a "black list" of the traitors  
who have helped Philip or Alexander  
subjugating Greek states, and  
declares that Aeschines is the repre-  
sentative of this pestilent class in  
Athens. Saving his own country  
from the disgrace of joining or abet-  
ting this foul plot against liberty is the  
great service for which he claims the  
name of patriot.

§ 294. 3. ἐμοῦ φιλιππισμὸν:  
the pronoun is emphatic, *me, of all  
men*. The word Philippic in all  
languages is a standing answer to the  
charge of Aeschines.

6. ἀνελόντας ἐκ μέσου (sc. ὑμᾶς),  
discarding.

9. ἀναθεῖεν: cf. § 290<sup>6</sup>.

10. εὖροιτ' (εὖροιτε) ἂν, *you would  
find*, appealing suddenly to the court  
or the audience.

§ 295. 1. ὅτ' ἦν ἀσθενῇ, i.e. in  
the state described in II. 14—21.

2. τὰ Φιλ. πράγματα, i.e. *his  
condition*.

3. προλεγόντων...τὰ βέλτιστα, as  
Demosthenes in the Olynthiacs and  
the First Philippic.

5. τοὺς ὑπάρχοντας πολίτας,  
*their own fellow-citizens*, those with  
whom each had to deal. Daochus  
and Thrasydaus were the Thessalian  
ambassadors sent by Philip to Thebes  
in 339 B.C. (see note on § 211<sup>6</sup>).  
Perillus, Timolaus, and Aristratratus are  
mentioned in § 48. Hipparchus and  
Clitarchus were set up as tyrants in  
Eretria by Philip about 343 B.C.:  
see §§ 71, 80, and 81. Most of the  
men in the list remain in deserved  
obscurity.

With this whole passage compare  
§§ 45—49, and Polyb. xvii. 14.  
Polybius censures Demosthenes for  
calling some of these men traitors,

υπάρχοντας ἕκαστοι πολίτας ἐξαπατῶντες καὶ δια-  
φθείροντες, ἕως δούλους ἐποίησαν.—Θετταλοὺς Δάο-  
χος, Κινέας, Θρασύδαος· Ἀρκάδας Κερκιδᾶς, Ἰερῶ-  
νυμος, Εὐκαμπίδας· Ἀργεῖους Μύρτις, Τελέδαμος,  
Μνασέας· Ἡλείους Εὐξίθεος, Κλεότιμος, Ἀρίσταιχ- 10  
μος· Μεσσηνίους οἱ Φιλιάδου τοῦ θεοῖς ἐχθροῦ  
παῖδες Νέων καὶ Θρασύλοχος· Σικυνωνίους Ἀρίστρα-  
τος, Ἐπιχάρης· Κορινθίους Δείναρχος, Δημάρετος·  
Μεγαρέας Πτοιόδωρος, Ἐλιξος, Πέριλλος· Θηβαίους  
Τιμόλας, Θεογεΐτων, Ἀνεμοίτας· Εὐβοέας Ἴππαρ- 15  
χος, Κλείταρχος, Σωσίστρατος. ἐπιλείψει με λέ- 20  
γουνθ' ἡ ἡμέρα τὰ τῶν προδοτῶν ὀνόματα. οὔτοι  
πάντες εἰσὶν, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν αὐτῶν βουλευ-  
μάτων ἐν ταῖς αὐτῶν πατρίσιν ὥνπερ οὔτοι παρ'  
ὑμῖν, ἄνθρωποι μιανοὶ καὶ κόλακες καὶ ἀλάστορες, 5  
ἡκρωτηριασμένοι τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἕκαστοι πατρίδας, τὴν

maintaining that they did what they believed to be for the best interest of their own states. Demosthenes, looking back on his long struggle with Philip, felt that their selfish regard for the temporary interests of special cities, which always proved fatal to Hellenic unity, and their utter disregard of the good of Greece as a whole, really amounted to treachery.

§ 296. 1. ἐπιλείψει...ὀνόματα: emphatic *asyndeton*. Cf. the Epistle to the Hebrews, xi. 32, ἐπιλείψει με ὁ χρόνος, and Cic. Nat. Deor. iii. 32 (81), dies deficiat si velim numerare.

3. τῶν αὐτῶν βουλευμάτων, (men) of the same purposes: this genitive of quality is as rare in Greek as it is common in Latin. See Aesch. iii. 168, θεωρήσας αὐτὸν, μὴ ὁποτέρου τοῦ λόγου ἀλλ' ὁποτέρου τοῦ βίου ἐστίν, and Thuc. iii. 45<sup>20</sup>, ἀπλῶς τε ἀδύνατον καὶ πολλῆς εὐθελείας.

5. ἀλάστορες, accursed wretches

(applied to Philip in xix. 30, properly victims of divine vengeance as in Soph. Aj. 374, μεθῆκα τῷ ἀλάστορας. ἀλάστωρ also means *divine avenger*, as in Aeschyl. P. 354, φανεῖς ἀλάστωρ ἢ κακὸς δαίμων. See note on ἀλιτῆριος, § 159<sup>3</sup>).

6. ἡκρωτηριασμένοι, *who have mangled* (lit. *mutilated*): see Harpocration ἀντὶ τοῦ λεγόμενου· οἱ γὰρ λυμένοι τισιν εἰώθασι περικόπτειν καὶ τὰ ἄκρα. In Aeschyl. Cho. 438, Soph. El. 445 there is the same in ἐμασχαλίσθη, μασχαλίζω *bein*. mutilate a dead body by cutting the extremities (τὰ ἄκρα) and putting them under the *armpits* (μασχάλα). Perhaps such strong metaphors were suggested to Aeschines the absurd expressions which he pretends to quote from Demosthenes in iii. 16 ἀμπελουργοῖσι τινες τὴν πόλιν, ὡς τετμήκασιν τινες τὰ κλήματα τῆς δῆμου, and others.—τὴν ἐλευθερίαν προπεπωκότες: for the successful

ἐλευθερίαν προπεπωκότες πρότερον μὲν Φιλίππῳ  
 νῦν δ' Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, τῇ γαστρὶ μετροῦντες καὶ τοῖς  
 αἰσχιστοῖς τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν, τὴν δ' ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τὸ  
 μηδέν ἔχειν δεσπότην αὐτῶν, ἃ τοῖς προτέροις ἰο  
 Ἕλλησιν ὄροι τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἦσαν καὶ κανόνες, ἀνα-  
 τετροφότες.

Ταύτης τοίνυν τῆς οὕτως αἰσχρᾶς καὶ περι- 297  
 βοήτου συστάσεως καὶ κακίας, μᾶλλον δ' ὧ ἄνδρες  
 25 Ἀθηναῖοι, προδοσίας, εἰ δεῖ μὴ ληρεῖν, τῆς τῶν  
 Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας, ἣ τε πόλις παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀν-

eps by which προπίνω comes to mean *recklessly sacrifice*, see Liddell and Scott. An intermediate meaning, *present a cup* (or other gift) *after rinking one's health*, is seen in XIX. 39, πίνων καὶ φιλανθρωπευόμενος πρὸς ὑτοῦς ὁ Φίλιππος ἄλλα τε δὴ πολλὰ, καὶ τελευτῶν ἐκπῶματ' ἀργυρᾶ καὶ χρυσᾶ προῖπινεν αὐτοῖς, i.e. in rinking their health, he gave them these various gifts. See also Pind. VII. 1—6, φάλλαν ὥς εἰ τις... ῥήσεται νεανία γαμβρῷ προπίνων, οἴκοθεν οἴκαδε, and the Schol. V. 5, προπίνειν ἐστὶ κυρίως τὸ ἄμα

τῷ κράματι τὸ ἀγγεῖον χαρίζεσθαι... καὶ Δημοσθένους τοὺς προδιδόντας τὰς πατρίδας τοῖς ἐχθροῖς προπίνειν ἔφη.

8. τῇ γαστρὶ μετροῦντες: see note on § 48<sup>b</sup> (on Τιμόλας). See Cic. Nat. Deor. I. 40 (113), quod dubitet omnia quae ad beatam vitam pertineant ventre metiri.

11. ὄροι καὶ κανόνες, bounds and rules, i.e. they applied these as tests to whatever was presented to them as a public good.—ἀνατετροφότες, *having overturned* (i.e. reversed) these tests.

THE EPILOGUE, §§ 297—323. In these sections we have the four characteristics of the ἐπιλογος, as Aristotle gives them (Rhet. III. 19, 1): arguments which will dispose the hearers favourably to the speaker and unfavourably to his opponent, amplification and depreciation, excitement of notions, and recapitulation. He begins by claiming the credit of keeping them free from the notorious contradiction against Grecian liberty just mentioned; and he charges Aeschines with failing in all the characteristics of a patriotic citizen which his own case exemplifies (§§ 297—300). He then recapitulates some of his chief

services in providing Athens with means of defence, and asks what similar claims Aeschines has to the public gratitude (§§ 301—313). He objects to being compared with the great men of former times, though he declares that he can bear such a comparison far better than his opponent (§§ 314—323).

§ 297. 1, 2. περιβοήτου, *notorious*.

3. εἰ δεῖ μὴ ληρεῖν, i.e. to call it by its right name, *προδοσίας*.

4. παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, i.e. *in the minds of all men*; but παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησι (8), *among the Greeks*: in § 274<sup>1</sup> both ideas are combined.

θρώποις ἀναίτιος γέγονεν ἐκ τῶν ἐμῶν πολιτευμάτων 5  
καὶ ἐγὼ παρ' ὑμῖν. εἰτά μ' ἐρωτᾷς ἀντί ποίας ἀρετῆς  
ἀξιῶ τιμᾶσθαι; ἐγὼ δέ σοι λέγω ὅτι, τῶν πολιτενο-  
μένων παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλήσι διαφθαρέντων ἀπάντων,  
ἀρξαμένων ἀπὸ σοῦ, πρότερον μὲν ὑπὸ Φιλίππου  
νῦν δ' ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου, ἐμὲ οὔτε καιρὸς οὔτε φιλαν- 25  
θρωπία λόγων οὔτ' ἐπαγγελιῶν μέγεθος οὔτ' ἐλπίς  
οὔτε φόβος οὔτ' ἄλλ' οὐδὲν ἐπήρην οὐδὲ προηγάγετο  
ὧν ἔκρινα δικαίων καὶ συμφερόντων τῇ πατρίδι  
οὐδὲν προδοῦναι, οὐδ', ὅσα συμβεβούλευκα πώποτε 5  
τουτοισί, ὁμοίως ὑμῖν ὥσπερ ἂν τρυτάνῃ ῥέπων ἐπὶ  
τὸ λῆμμα συμβεβούλευκα, ἀλλ' ἀπ' ὀρθῆς καὶ δικαίας  
καὶ ἀδιαφθόρου τῆς ψυχῆς· καὶ μεγίστων δὲ πραγ-  
μάτων τῶν κατ' ἐμαυτὸν ἀνθρώπων προτάς πάντα  
ταῦθ' ὑγιῶς καὶ δικαίως πεπολίτευμαι. διὰ ταῦτ' 10  
ἀξιῶ τιμᾶσθαι. τὸν δὲ τειχισμὸν τοῦτον, ὃν σύ μου 29  
διέσυρες, καὶ τὴν ταφρείαν ἄξια μὲν χάριτος καὶ

6. ἐρωτᾷς; see Aesch. 236.

8. ἀπάντων: exaggeration; but see § 304.

9. ἀρξαμένων ἀπὸ σοῦ, i.e. your-  
self first and foremost.

§ 298. 3. ἐπήρην, induced  
(roused): cf. §§ 168<sup>2</sup>, 175<sup>3</sup>.

5—7. οὐδ'...ὁμοίως ὑμῖν...συμ-  
βεβούλευκα (7), nor have I given my  
advice, like you, inclining towards  
gain like a balance, i.e. as a balance  
would incline if a weight were put  
into one of the scales: ὥσπερ ἂν (sc.  
ῥέποι). The MSS. are corrupt: ὥσπερ  
ἂν τρυτάνῃ is nearest to ὥσπερ ἂν  
τρυτανίῃ of Σ. We have ἐν τρυτ. in  
A, and ἂν ἐν τρυτ. vulg. This is  
illustrated by a striking passage in  
V. 12: προῖκα τὰ πράγματα κρίνω καὶ  
λογίζομαι, καὶ οὐδὲν λῆμμι ἂν οὐδεὶς  
ἔχει πρὸς οἷς ἐγὼ πεπολίτευμαι καὶ  
λέγω δεῖξαι προσηρτημένον. ὀρθὸν οὖν,

ὅ τι ἂν ποτ' ἀπ' αὐτῶν ὑπάρχῃ  
πραγμάτων, τὸ συμφέρον φαίνεται  
ὅταν δ' ἐπὶ θάτερα ὥσπερ εἰς τρυτάνῃ  
ἀργύριον προσενέγκῃς, οἴχεται φέ-  
καὶ καθέλκεται τὸν λογισμὸν ἐφ' αὐ-  
καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἔτ' ὀρθῶς οὐδ' ὑγιῶς ὁ το-  
ποιήσας περὶ οὐδενὸς λογίσαιτο.

7. ὀρθῆς...ἀδιαφθόρου: pred.  
(cf. § 322<sup>6</sup>).

8. μεγίστων...ἀνθρώπων, the  
weightiest concerns of (any one of the)  
men of my time (partitive). (cp. § 304.)

§ 299. 1. τειχισμὸν, the putting  
ing of the walls of Athens in 336  
336 B.C., for which Demosthenes  
τειχοποιός. See Aesch. 11, where  
Demosthenes was then appointed  
his tribe, the Πανδιονίς, and received  
from the treasury (according to § 304,  
31) nearly ten talents for the work  
(cf. § 113<sup>6,7</sup>).—ὃν σύ μου διέσυρες,  
cf. τοῦτό μου διαβάλλει § 28<sup>3</sup>, cesi-

ἐπαίνου κρίνω, πῶς γὰρ οὐ; πόρρω μέντοι που τῶν  
 ἐμαυτῷ πεπολιτευμένων τίθεμαι. οὐ λίθοις ἐτείχισα <sup>φοιτῆς</sup> τὴν  
 πόλιν οὐδὲ πλίνθοις ἐγὼ, οὐδ' ἐπὶ τούτοις μέγι- 5  
 στον τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ φρονῶ· ἀλλ' ἐὰν τὸν ἐμὸν τειχισμὸν  
 βούλῃ δικαίως σκοπεῖν, εὐρήσεις ὄπλα καὶ πόλεις  
 καὶ τόπους καὶ λιμένας καὶ ναῦς καὶ [πολλοὺς]  
 ἵππους καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τούτων ἀμυννομένους! ταῦτα 300  
 προὔβαλόμεν ἐγὼ πρὸ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ὅσον ἦν ἀνθρω-  
 πίνῳ λογισμῷ δυνατὸν, καὶ τούτοις ἐτείχισα τὴν  
 16 χώραν, οὐχὶ τὸν κύκλον τοῦ Πειραιῶς οὐδὲ τοῦ  
 ἁσπεως. οὐδέ γ' ἡττήθην ἐγὼ τοῖς λογισμοῖς Φιλίπ- 5  
 που, πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ, οὐδὲ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς, ἀλλ'  
 οἱ τῶν συμμάχων στρατηγοὶ καὶ αἱ δυνάμεις τῇ

3. πόρρω, i.e. far below.

4. οὐ λίθοις ἐτείχισα τὴν πόλιν: famous passage, often quoted by the oratorians. See the beginning of the *ὑπόθεσις* of Libanius. Plutarch (Lycurg. 19) quotes a saying of Lycurgus the lawgiver, οὐκ ἂν εἴη τείχιστος πόλις ἂν τις ἀνδράσι καὶ οὐ πλίνθοις ἐστεφάνωται. Whiston refers to Sir Wm Jones's ode, "What constitutes a State?" The passage is a most effective answer to the taunts of Aeschines (236) about the walls and ditches.

5. πλίνθοις: sun-dried bricks, of which no small part of the walls of Athens and of the Long Walls to the Piræus were built. The brick wall as built on a solid foundation of stone. See Thuc. I. 93, οἱ θεμέλιοι ἀντοίων λίθων ὑπόκεινται (of the walls of Athens). The stone walls of Mantinea, which are still standing most complete, have at most only an outer course of stone, which were once surrounded by a wall of brick: *Asianias* (VIII. 8, 7) describes this wall as ὡμῆς ὑπόδομημένην τῆς πλίνθου, i.e. of raw (i.e. unbaked) bricks.

8. τόπους, countries, Euboea, Boeotia, the Chersonese, as opposed to cities.

9. τοὺς ὑπὲρ τούτων ἀμυννομένους, the defenders of these (our fellow-citizens).

§ 300. 2. προὔβαλόμεν: cf. §§ 97<sup>10</sup> and 301<sup>4</sup>.—ἀνθρωπίνῳ λογισμῷ: cf. § 193<sup>5</sup>.

4. τὸν κύκλον τοῦ Πειραιῶς: the circuit of the Piræus was assigned to the tribe Pandionis, to which Demosthenes belonged. See Essay III. § 1.

5. λογισμοῖς may refer to the encounter with Python (§ 136) and also to the embassies mentioned in § 244.—Φιλίππου: with ἡττήθην.

7. οἱ τῶν συμμάχων στρατηγοὶ: of these we hear only of two Thebans, Proxenus and Theagenes: of these Dinarchus (I. 74) says, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς ξένοις τοῖς εἰς Ἀμφισσαν συλλεγεῖσιν Πρόξενος ὁ προδότης ἐγένετο· ἡγεμὼν δὲ τῆς φάλαγγος (at Chaeronea) κατέστη Θεαγένης, ἀνὴρ ἀνυπακούων καὶ δωροδόκος ὥσπερ οὗτος (Demosthenes).

τύχη. τίνες αἱ τούτων ἀποδείξεις; ἐναργεῖς καὶ φανεραί. σκοπεῖτε δέ.

Τί χρῆν τὸν εὐνοῦν πολίτην ποιεῖν, τί τὸν μετὰ 301  
πάσης προνοίας καὶ προθυμίας καὶ δικαιοσύνης ὑπὲρ  
τῆς πατρίδος πολιτευόμενον; οὐκ ἐκ μὲν θαλάττης  
τὴν Εὐβοίαν προβαλέσθαι πρὸ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ἐκ δὲ  
τῆς μεσογείας τὴν Βοιωτίαν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν πρὸς Πελο- 5  
πόννησον τόπων τοῖς ὁμόρους ταύτῃ; οὐ τὴν  
σιτοπομπίαν, ὅπως παρὰ πᾶσαν φιλίαν ἄχρι τοῦ  
Πειραιῶς κομισθῆσεται, προιδέσθαι; καὶ τὰ μὲν 302  
σῶσαι τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἐκπέμποντα βοηθείας καὶ  
λέγοντα καὶ γράφοντα τοιαῦτα, τὴν Προκόννησον,  
τὴν Χερρόνησον, τὴν Τένεδον, τὰ δ' ὅπως οἰκεία καὶ  
σύμμαχ' ὑπάρξει πρᾶξαι, τὸ Βυζάντιον, τὴν Ἀβυδον, 5  
τὴν Εὐβοίαν; καὶ τῶν μὲν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ὑπαρχουσῶν  
δυνάμεων τὰς μεγίστας ἀφελεῖν, ὧν δ' ἐνέλειπε τῇ

In §§ 301—313 the orator recapitulates his own chief services, with which he compares the public career of Aeschines.

§ 301. 1. τί χρῆν κ.τ.λ., i.e. *what was his duty?*—ποιεῖν, of a course of action, explained by several aorists, each of a special act. In the following series of questions, all introduced by χρῆν, the orator states the various problems which faced the Athenian statesman of that day and the obvious solutions of them.

3. ἐκ θαλάττης: cf. § 230<sup>6</sup>.

4. προβαλέσθαι: cf. προὔβαλον, § 300<sup>2</sup>. With this figure of *throwing forward* Euboea as a wall of defence to Attica, compare that in § 71<sup>2</sup> (see note). See Aesch. III. 84, καὶ, ἀλλὰ χαλκοῖς καὶ ἀδαμαντίνους τέλεισιν, ὡς αὐτὸς φησι, τὴν χώραν ἡμῶν ἐτείχισε, τῇ τῶν Εὐβοέων καὶ Θηβαίων συμμαχίᾳ.

6. τοὺς ὁμόρους ταύτῃ, *our neigh-*

*bours on this side*, as Megara and Corinth (cf. § 237).

7. παρὰ πᾶσαν φιλίαν (sc. γῆν): i.e. *that the corn-trade should pass along an entirely friendly coast*. For the subject of §§ 301, 302, see §§ 71, 79—82, 87—89, 240, 241, and II. 11st. §§ 46, 51, 52, 54.

§ 302. 1. The measures mentioned in τὰ μὲν σῶσαι and τὰ δ'... πρᾶξαι (4) were designed to secure a friendly coast for the corn-trade.

2. βοηθείας: cf. § 305<sup>6</sup>.

3. γράφοντα τοιαῦτα, *by proposing measures accordingly*.

4. ὅπως ὑπάρξει πρᾶξαι, i.e. *to get possession of them* (cf. ὑπαρχόντων in 2).

6. Εὐβοίαν: Euboea, with its long coasts, was always essential to the safety of the corn trade.

7. τὰς μεγίστας: especially Thebes in 339 B.C.—ὧν ἐνέλειπε τῇ πόλει, *what the city lacked*: ἐλλείπει is here

πόλει, ταῦτα προσθεῖναι; ταῦτα τοίνυν ἅπαντα  
πέπρακται τοῖς ἑμοῖς ψηφίσμασι καὶ τοῖς ἑμοῖς  
πολιτεύμασιν, ἃ καὶ βεβουλευμένα, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθη- 303  
ναῖοι, ἐὰν ἄνευ φθόνου τις βούληται σκοπεῖν, ὁρθῶς  
εὐρήσει καὶ πεπραγμένα πάσῃ δικαιοσύνῃ, καὶ τὸν  
ἐκάστου καιρὸν οὐ παρεθέντα οὐδ' ἀγνοηθέντα οὐδὲ  
προεθέντα ὑπ' ἑμοῦ, καὶ ὅς' εἰς ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς δύναμιν 5  
καὶ λογισμὸν ἤκειν, οὐδὲν ἑλλειφθέν. εἰ δὲ ἡ δαίμονός  
τινος ἢ τύχης ἰσχὺς ἢ στρατηγῶν φαυλότης ἢ  
τῶν προδιδόντων τὰς πόλεις ὑμῶν κακία ἢ πάντα  
327 ταῦτ' ἐλυμαίνετο τοῖς ὅλοις ἕως ἀνέτρεψεν, τί Δημο-  
σθένης ἀδικεῖ; εἰ δ' οἷος ἐγὼ παρ' ὑμῖν κατὰ τὴν 304  
ἐμαντοῦ τάξιν, εἰς ἐν ἐκάστῃ τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων  
ἀνὴρ ἐγένετο, μᾶλλον δ' εἰ ἐν' ἄνδρα μόνον Θετταλία  
καὶ ἐν' ἄνδρ' Ἀρκαδία ταῦτὰ φρονοῦντ' ἔσχεν ἑμοί,  
οὐδεὶς οὔτε τῶν ἔξω Πυλῶν Ἑλλήνων οὔτε τῶν εἰσω 5  
τοῖς παροῦσι κακοῖς ἐκέχρητ' ἂν, ἀλλὰ πάντες ἂν 305  
ὄντες ἐλεύθεροι καὶ αὐτόνομοι μετὰ πάσης ἀδείας  
ἀσφαλῶς ἐν εὐδαιμονίᾳ τὰς ἑαυτῶν ᾤκουν πατρίδας,  
τούτων τοσούτων καὶ τοιούτων ἀγαθῶν ὑμῖν καὶ τοῖς

impersonal, like ἐνδεῖ; so Plat. Leg. 844 B, εἰ τισι τόποις... ἐλλείπει τῶν ἀναγκαίων πωμάτων, and 740 C.

§ 303. 1. βεβουλευμένα ὁρθῶς εὐρήσει (or. obl.) refers chiefly to πολιτεύματα.

4. οὐ παρεθέντα... προεθέντα, *opportunitatem cuiusque rei non per negligentiam praetermissam nec ignoratam nec proditam* (Dissen). παρεθέντα implies carelessness (cf. VIII. 34), προεθέντα wilfulness (cf. VIII. 56).

5. ὅς' implies τοσούτων, depending on οὐδέν.

6. δαίμονος ἢ τύχης; cf. τὸν δαίμονα καὶ τὴν τύχην, Aesch. III. 115, 157. The strength (ἰσχύς) of the superhuman powers is opposed to the weakness and incapacity (φau-

λότης) or the treachery of men. See notes on §§ 264<sup>1</sup> and 300<sup>7</sup>.

9. τοῖς ὅλοις; see note on § 278<sup>9</sup>. —ἀνέτρεψεν, *overset*, the familiar figure of the ship of state.

10. ἀδικεῖ, not *is doing wrong*, but *is to blame* for a past wrong (M.T. 27).

§ 304. 3. Θετταλία... Ἀρκαδία; see §§ 63, 64. "Philip's party in the one opened Northern Greece to him, and in the other neutralized the Peloponnesus" (Simcox).

6. ἐκέχρητ' ἂν, *would have experienced*.

§ 305. 1. ἂν is repeated with ᾤκουν (3), contrary to general usage, because of the change of time from ἐκέχρητ' ἂν to ᾤκουν (present time).

ἄλλοις Ἀθηναίοις ἔχοντες χάριν δι' ἐμέ. ἵνα δ' 5  
εἰδῇτε ὅτι πολλῶ τοῖς λόγοις ἐλάττωσι χρῶμαι τῶν  
ἔργων, εὐλαβούμενος τὸν φθόνον, λέγε μοι ταυτὶ καὶ  
ἀνάγνωθι λαβὼν τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν βοηθειῶν κατὰ τὰ  
ἑμὰ ψηφίσματα.

### ΑΡΙΘΜΟΣ ΒΟΗΘΕΙΩΝ.

Ταῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτα πράττειν, Αἰσχίνη, τὸν κελὸν 306<sup>α</sup>  
κάγαθον πολίτην δεῖ, ὃν κατορθουμένων μὲν με-  
γίστοις ἀναμφισβητήτως ὑπῆρχεν εἶναι, καὶ τὸ  
δικαίως προσῆν, ὥς ἑτέρως δὲ συμβάντων τὸ γοῦν  
εὐδοκίμειν περίεστι καὶ τὸ μηδένα μέμφεσθαι τὴν 5  
πόλιν μηδὲ τὴν προαίρεσιν αὐτῆς, ἀλλὰ τὴν τύχην  
κακίζειν τὴν οὕτω τὰ πράγματα κρίνασαν· οὐ μὰ Δι' 307

7. λέγε καὶ ἀνάγνωθι: cf. § 28<sup>1</sup>.

8. βοηθειῶν: forces sent out for special purposes, like those mentioned in § 302<sup>2</sup>: see IV. 32, μὴ βοηθείαις πολεμεῖν (ὕστεριον μὲν γὰρ ἀπάντων) ἀλλὰ παρασκευῇ συνεχεῖ καὶ δυνάμει, and cf. IV. 41. The famous expedition which checked Philip at Thermopylae in 352 B.C. (IV. 17) is called a βοηθία in XIX. 84. Often βοηθία means a mere *raid*.

§ 306. 1. ταῦτα...πράττειν...δεῖ sums up the reply to the question τί χρῆν...ποιεῖν: in § 301<sup>1</sup>, but with a change in tense. He asked *what was the duty*, with special reference to the case in hand; and he replies in general terms *this is the duty*. ποιεῖν (§ 301<sup>1</sup>) and πράττειν here have the same sense, as have χρῆ (in χρῆν) and δεῖ.

2—4. κατορθουμένων=εἰ κατορθούτο, *if they had been successful* (as they were not), to which the apodosis is ὑπῆρχεν εἶναι, *it belonged to us to be*, i.e. *we should properly have been* (M.T. 416).—μεγίστοις (sc. ἡμῶν)...

καὶ τὸ δικαίως προσῆν, i.e. *indisputably, and (I might add) justly, greatest*: δικαίως stands as a mere word with the article; and προσῆν is *belonged there*, i.e. *might properly be added*.

4. ὥς ἑτέρως, *otherwise*: see note on § 85<sup>6</sup>.—συμβάντων, simply temporal, *now, when they (have) resulted otherwise*.

5. περίεστι, *there is left to us*: the subject is τὸ εὐδοκίμειν καὶ τὸ μηδένα... κρίνασαν (7).

7. κακίζειν: the subject is πάντας, to be supplied from the preceding subject μηδένα. The same carelessness of expression is always common; a famous case is the clause of the United States Constitution concerning fugitive slaves: "No person held to service or labor in one state, escaping into another, shall...be discharged from said service or labor, but shall be delivered up," etc.

§ 307. 1. οὐ μὰ Δι' οὐκ: emphatic repetition, not a double negative: δεῖ is understood here

οὐκ ἀποστάντα τῶν συμφερόντων τῇ πόλει μισθώ-  
 σαντα δ' αὐτὸν τοῖς ἐναντίοις, τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν  
 καιροὺς ἀντὶ τῶν τῆς πατρίδος θεραπεύειν, οὐδὲ τὸν  
 μὲν πράγματ' ἄξια τῆς πόλεως ὑποστάντα λέγειν καὶ 5  
 γράφειν καὶ μένειν ἐπὶ τούτων βασκαίνειν, ἂν δέ τις  
 ἰδία τι λυπήσῃ, τοῦτο μεμνήσθαι καὶ τηρεῖν, οὐδέ  
 γ' ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν ἄδικον καὶ ὕπουλον, ὃ σὺ ποιεῖς  
 πολλάκις. ἔστι γὰρ, ἔστιν ἡσυχία δικαία καὶ συμ- 308  
 φέρουσα τῇ πόλει, ἣν οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν πολιτῶν ὑμεῖς  
 ἀπλῶς ἄγετε. ἀλλ' οὐ ταύτην οὗτος ἄγει τὴν ἡσυ-  
 χίαν, πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ, ἀλλ' ἀποστὰς ὅταν αὐτῷ  
 δόξῃ τῆς πολιτείας (πολλάκις δὲ δοκεῖ) φυλάττει 5  
 πηνικ' ἔσεσθε μεστοὶ τοῦ συνεχῶς λέγοντος ἢ παρὰ  
 τῆς τύχης τι συμβέβηκεν ἐναντίωμα ἢ ἄλλο τι δύσ-  
 κολον γέγονε (πολλὰ δὲ τὰνθρώπινα). εἴτ' ἐπὶ τούτῳ  
 τῷ καιρῷ ῥήτωρ ἐξαίφνης ἐκ τῆς ἡσυχίας ὥσπερ  
 πνεῦμ' ἐφάνη, καὶ πεφωνασκηκῶς καὶ συνειλοχῶς 10  
 ῥήματα, καὶ λόγους συνείρει τούτους σαφῶς καὶ

from § 306<sup>2</sup>, and on it depend the infinitives *θεραπεύειν* etc. through *ἀγειν* (8).

2. ἀποστάντα: strongly opposed to *θεραπεύειν* (4) and *ὑποστάντα* (5).

4. τῶν τῆς πατρίδος (sc. *καρῶν*), instead of the fuller form with *ὑπὲρ* (as in 3).—τὸν ὑποστάντα, *the man who has undertaken*, object of *βασκαίνειν*.

8. ὕπουλον, lit. *festering within*, of the quiet of Aesch., *false, treacherous*; see Thuc. VIII. 64 (end), τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὕπουλον αὐτονομίαν (Bl.).

§ 308. 2. οἱ πολλοὶ here simply *the majority*.

3. ἀπλῶς, in *honest simplicity*, without *pretence*, opposed to *ὑπουλος*, *ἡσυχία* (307<sup>8</sup>).—οὐ ταύτην: cf. Aesch. III. 216.

5. φυλάττει πηνικ' (Σ, L) ἔσεσθε

μεστοί, *he watches* (to see) *when you will be sated*, an indirect question where we might expect a temporal clause: *ὀπηνίκα* is the common reading.

6. τοῦ συνεχῶς λέγοντος, with *your regular speaker*, i.e. the one who is continually advising you: see Plut. Cim. 5, ὁ δὲ δῆμος... μεστὸς ὦν τοῦ θεμιστοκλέους.

8. τὰνθρώπινα: sc. ἐναντίωματα.

9. ῥήτωρ, as an *orator*, predicate to ἐφάνη (gnomic).—ὥσπερ πνεῦμ', with ἐξαίφνης.

10. πεφωνασκηκῶς: cf. § 280<sup>2</sup>.—συνειλοχῶς, the only proper perf. act. of *συνλέγω*, though here Σ has *συνειλεχῶς* (but *συνειλοχα* in XXI. 23). Cf. *συμφορήσας*, § 15<sup>4</sup>.

11. ῥήματα: cf. § 232<sup>4</sup>.—συνείρει, *reeks off* (*strings together*).

ἀπνευστεῖ, ὄνησιν μὲν οὐδεμίαν φέροντας οὐδ' ἀγαθοῦ  
κτῆσιν οὐδενός, συμφορὰν δὲ τῷ τυχόντι τῶν πολι-  
τῶν καὶ κοινὴν αἰσχύνην. καίτοι ταύτης τῆς μελέτης 309  
καὶ τῆς ἐπιμελείας, Αἰσχίνη, εἴπερ ἐκ ψυχῆς δικαίας  
ἐγίγνετο καὶ τὰ τῆς πατρίδος συμφέροντα προηρη-  
μένης, τοὺς καρποὺς ἔδει γενναίους καὶ καλοὺς καὶ  
πᾶσιν ὠφελίμους εἶναι, συμμαχίας πόλεων, πόρους 5  
χρημάτων, ἐμπορίου κατασκευὴν, νόμων συμφερόν-  
των θέσεις, τοῖς ἀποδειχθεῖσιν ἐχθροῖς ἐναντιώματα.  
τούτων γὰρ ἀπάντων ἦν ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις ἐξέτα- 310  
σις, καὶ ἔδωκεν ὁ παρελθὼν χρόνος πολλὰς ἀποδεί-  
ξεις ἀνδρὶ καλῷ τε κάγαθῷ, ἐν οἷς οὐδαμοῦ σὺ  
φανήσῃ γεγονώς, οὐ πρῶτος, οὐ δεύτερος, οὐ τρίτος,  
οὐ τέταρτος, οὐ πέμπτος, οὐχ ἕκτος, οὐχ ὀποσσοσούν, 5

12. ἀπνευστεῖ, *all in one breath* (*without taking breath*).

13. τῷ τυχόντι, *cuius, to any one who happens to hear them*.

14. κοινὴν, *public*, opposed to τῷ τυχόντι.—αἰσχύνην: Blass refers this to the speech described in § 35.

§ 309. 1, 2. μελέτης, ἐπιμελείας, *practice, study*, referring to § 308<sup>10-12</sup>.

3. τὰ... προηρημένης, *one which had made the interests of the fatherland its choice* (προαίρεσιν), connected by καὶ to δικαίας. Cf. § 315<sup>8</sup>.

4. ἔδει εἶναι, *ought to have been*, implying that in the case of Aeschines they were not so.—γενναίους: often used literally of fruits, as in Plat. Leg. 844 E, τὴν γενναίαν οὖν λεγομένην σταφυλὴν ἢ τὰ γενναῖα σῦκα ἐπονομαζόμενα (Bl.).

6. ἐμπορίου κατασκευὴν: (probably) securing new commercial rights for Athens in some foreign seaport: see XX. 33, κατασκευάσας ἐμπόριον Θεοδοσίαν, with Sandys's note.

7. ἀποδειχθεῖσιν, *declared, open*. Cf. ἀποδείξεις, 310<sup>2</sup>.

§ 310. 1. τούτων ἦν ἐξέτασις: ἐξέτασις is again a military term, as in § 320<sup>10</sup>, where it means a *mustering* or *review* of hirelings etc., in which they were called forth to show themselves. Here, with a genitive denoting public services, it means likewise *calling out and arraying* such services to a man's credit. (See note on § 173<sup>5</sup>.)

2. ἔδωκεν... ἀποδείξεις, i.e. the past gave many opportunities for showing such services, as it were arraying them for a review.

3. ἐν οἷς, *in which class* (the *kaloi* τε κάγαθοί), as if ἀνδράσι had preceded.—οὐδαμοῦ: cf. § 320<sup>6</sup>.

5. οὐχ ὀποσσοσούν (cf. ὀσισσούν), *not in any rank whatsoever*. Dissen thinks this alludes to a Delphic oracle given to the Megarians, quoted in the Scholia to Theoc. XIV. 48, 49, of which the last two verses are:

ἡμεῖς δ' ὦ Μεγαρεῖς οὔτε τρίτοι οὔτε  
τέταρτοι  
οὔτε δωδέκατοι, οὐτ' ἐν λόγῳ οὐτ' ἐν  
ἀριθμῷ.

οὐκ οὐκ ἐπὶ γ' οἷς ἡ πατρίς ἠϋξάνετο. τίς γὰρ συμ- 311  
μαχία σοῦ πράξαντος γέγονε τῇ πόλει; τίς δὲ  
βοήθεια ἢ κτήσις εὐνοίας ἢ δόξης; τίς δὲ πρεσβεία,  
29 τίς διακονία δι' ἣν ἡ πόλις ἐντιμότερα; τί τῶν  
οἰκείων ἢ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν καὶ ξενικῶν οἷς ἐπέστης 5  
ἐπὶ νῶρθωται; ποῖαι τριήρεις; ποῖα βέλη; ποῖοι  
νεώσοικοι; τίς ἐπισκευὴ τειχῶν; ποῖον ἵππικόν; τί  
τῶν ἀπάντων σὺ χρήσιμος εἶ; τίς ἢ τοῖς εὐπόροις ἢ  
τοῖς ἀπόροις πολιτικὴ καὶ κοινὴ βοήθεια χρημάτων;  
οὐδεμία. ἀλλ', ὦ τᾶν, εἰ μὴδὲν τούτων, εὐνοία γε καὶ 312  
προθυμία· ποῦ; πότε; ὅστις, ὦ πάντων ἀδικώτατε,  
οὐδ' ὅθ' ἅπαντες ὅσοι πώποτ' ἐφθέγγαντ' ἐπὶ τοῦ  
βήματος εἰς σωτηρίαν ἐπέδιδον, καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον  
'Αριστόνικος τὸ συνειλεγμένον εἰς τὴν ἐπιτιμίαν, 5  
οὐδὲ τότε οὔτε παρήλθες οὐτ' ἐπέδωκας οὐδὲν, οὐκ

6. οὐκ οὐκ ἐπὶ γ' οἷς, at all events, or in matters in which, etc.

§ 311. These questions are arguments for the judgment just pronounced upon Aeschines. After the 1st question, the conjunctions are omitted in the speaker's vehemence. With the whole passage compare x. 282.

5. τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν, opposed to τῶν οἰκείων, is the so-called foreign policy of Athens, i.e. her policy with her Greek states: see note on 59<sup>2</sup>. Here τῶν ξενικῶν is added to include her relations to other than Greek states, both being opposed to τῶν οἰκείων, her domestic policy.

6. ποῖαι τριήρεις; sc. γεγονάσι τῇ βλεῖ.

7. τί...χρήσιμος εἶ; what in the world (τῶν ἀπάντων) ARE you good for?

8. τίς ἢ χρημάτων; what public financial help has ever come from you either rich or poor (i.e. to anybody)?

9. πολιτικὴ καὶ κοινὴ is a rhetorical amplification, like the cases in the note to § 4<sup>6</sup>: in xxv. 22, ἔρανος πολιτικὸς καὶ κοινὸς is a public contribution for the general good.

§ 312. 1. ὦ τᾶν, a familiar form of address, found in three other passages of Demosthenes, I. 26, III. 29, xxv. 78; in all introducing an imaginary retort of an opponent.

3. ἐφθέγγαντ': cf. § 199<sup>7</sup>.

4. εἰς σωτηρίαν ἐπέδιδον, i.e. made contributions (ἐπιδόσεις, § 171<sup>8</sup>) for the safety of the state. Such were made after Chaeronea, and again before the destruction of Thebes by Alexander: for the latter see xxxiv. 38, ὅτε μὲν Ἀλέξανδρος εἰς Θήβας παρῆι, ἐπέδωκαμεν ὑμῖν τάλαστον ἀργυρίον.

5. τὸ συνειλεγμένον (sc. ἀργύριον), i.e. money contributed to pay some debt to the state which made him ἀτιμος, and thus to make him again ἐπίτιμος. Every defaulting public debtor was ipso facto ἀτιμος.

ἀπορῶν, πῶς γάρ; ὅς γε κεκληρονόμηκας μὲν τῶν Φίλωνος τοῦ κηδεστοῦ χρημάτων πλείονων ἢ πεντε-  
ταλάντων, διτάλαντον δ' εἶχες ἔρανον δωρεὰν παρὰ  
τῶν ἡγεμόνων τῶν συμμοριῶν ἐφ' οἷς ἐλυμήνω τὸν 10  
τριηραρχικὸν νόμον. ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴ λόγον ἐκ λόγου 313  
λέγων τοῦ παρόντος ἐμαυτὸν ἐκκρούσω, παραλείψω  
ταῦτα. ἀλλ' ὅτι γ' οὐχὶ δι' ἔνδειαν οὐκ ἐπέδωκας, ἐκ  
τούτων δηλόν, ἀλλὰ φυλάττων τὸ μηδὲν ἐναντίον  
γενέσθαι παρὰ σοῦ τούτοις, οἷς ἅπαντα πολιτεύει. 5  
ἐν τίσιν οὖν σὺ νεανίας καὶ πηνίκα λαμπρός; ἥνικ'  
ἂν κατὰ τούτων τι δέῃ, ἐν τούτοις λαμπροφρονότατος,  
μνημονικώτατος, ὑποκριτῆς ἄριστος, τραγικὸς Θεο-  
κρίνης.

7. κεκληρονόμηκας... πεντεταλάν-  
των, have inherited the estate of your  
brother-in-law Philo, which was (sc.  
δυνάων) more than five talents.

9. διτάλαντον ἔρανον, a contribu-  
tion of two talents. There is probably  
a sarcastic reference to the common  
meaning of ἔρανος.

10. ἡγεμόνων: see note on § 103<sup>4</sup>.  
—ἐφ' οἷς ἐλυμήνω, for the damage  
you did: οἷς for a cognate ἄ, as in  
§ 18<sup>a</sup>. The attack of Aeschines on  
the trierarchie law was not made  
when it was enacted in 340 B.C., but  
probably after Chaeronea. Demos-  
thenes says (§ 107<sup>b</sup>) that through the  
whole war (i.e. 340—338 B.C.) the  
naval armaments were fitted out  
under his law; and the statement of  
Aeschines (III. 222), ἐξηλέγχθης ὑπ'  
ἐμοῦ ἐξήκοῦτα καὶ πέντε νεῶν ταχυναι-  
τους ὡν τριηράρχους ὑφηρημένος, shows  
that evidence as to the working of  
the new law in details was derived  
from actual experience.

§ 313. 1. λόγον ἐκ λόγου λέγων,  
by saying one thing after another.

2. τοῦ παρόντος (sc. λόγου) ἐμαυ-  
τὸν ἐκκρούσω, cut myself off from

(discussing properly) the subject im-  
mediately before us.

3. ὅτι γ' οὐχὶ δι' ἔνδειαν οὐκ ἐπέ-  
δωκας, that it was not through poverty  
that you did not contribute; each  
negative having its own force, as the  
second is not a compound (C. 1618).

4. ἀλλὰ connects φυλάττων to δι'  
ἐνδειαν, both being casual.—φυλάττων  
τὸ...γενέσθαι: see M.T. 374; and  
note on § 258<sup>a</sup>.

5. τούτοις, οἷς: not simply to  
those for whom (which would hardly  
be τούτοις), but to these persons  
(§ 312<sup>11</sup>), for whom (in whose inter-  
est), etc.

6. νεανίας, often used in the sense  
of vigorous, lively, like the adjective  
νεανικός: it occurs twice in Demos-  
thenes, here and § 136<sup>2</sup>.—ἥνικ' ἄν...  
τι δέῃ: supply εἰπεῖν, which all mss.  
except Σ<sup>1</sup> insert.

8. τραγικὸς Θεοκρίνης: see Har-  
pocr., τὸν γοῦν πάλαι μὲν ὑποκριτὴν  
τραγικὸν ὕστερον δὲ συκοφάντην εἰκό-  
τως ὠνόμασε τραγικὸν Θεοκρίνην.  
Theocritus is the one accused in  
Or. LVIII. Cf. § 242<sup>b</sup>.

Εἶτα τῶν πρότερον γεγενημένων ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν 314  
 μέμνησαι. καὶ καλῶς ποιεῖς. οὐ μέντοι δίκαιόν  
 ἐστίν, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὴν πρὸς τοὺς τετελευτηκότας  
 330 εὐνοίαν ὑπάρχουσιν προλαβόντα παρ' ὑμῶν πρὸς  
 ἐκείνους ἐξετάζειν καὶ παραβάλλειν ἐμὲ τὸν νῦν 5  
 ζῶντα μεθ' ὑμῶν. τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδε τῶν πάντων ὅτι 315  
 τοῖς μὲν ζῶσι πᾶσιν ὑπεστί τις ἢ πλείων ἢ ἐλάττω  
 φθόνος, τοῖς τεθνεώτας δ' οὐδὲ τῶν ἐχθρῶν οὐδεὶς  
 ἐτι μισεῖ; οὕτως οὖν ἐχόντων τούτων τῇ φύσει,  
 πρὸς τοὺς πρὸ ἐμαυτοῦ νῦν ἐγὼ κρίνωμαι καὶ θεωρῶ 5  
 μαι; μηδαμῶς· οὔτε γὰρ δίκαιον οὔτ' ἴσον, Αἰσχίνη·  
 ἀλλὰ πρὸς σέ καὶ ἄλλον εἴ τινα βούλει τῶν ταῦτά  
 σοι προηρημένων καὶ ζώντων. κακῆϊνο σκόπει. 316  
 πρότερον κάλλιον καὶ ἄμεινον τῇ πόλει διὰ τὰς τῶν  
 πρότερον εὐεργεσίας, οὐσας ὑπερμεγέθεις,—οὐ μὲν  
 οὖν εἴποι τις ἂν ἡλικίας,—τὰς ἐπὶ τὸν παρόντα βίον

In §§ 314—323 the orator complains of the unfairness of judging him, as Aeschines has done (178—190), by comparison with the great men of ancient times. But he shrinks from no comparison with his contemporaries. In §§ 321—323 he states two points, which he claims for himself, in the character of the μέτριος πολίτης.

§ 314. 1. τῶν πρότερον γεγενημένων: in III. 181 Aeschines calls on the court directly to compare Demosthenes with Themistocles, Miltiades, the heroes of Phyle, and Aristides; and he does this very effectively.

3. τὴν...ὑπάρχουσιν, the devotion which it is to be assumed you feel towards the dead.

4. προλαβόντα, securing for himself in advance, taking advantage of. See Hor. Od. III. 24, 31, Virtutem incolumem odimus, Sublatam ex

oculis quaerimus invidi.—πρὸς ἐκείνους: cf. πρὸς σέ 315<sup>7</sup>.

§ 315. 2. τοῖς μὲν ζῶσι...φθόνος, κ.τ.λ.: cf. Thuc. II. 45, φθόνος γὰρ τοῖς ζῶσι πρὸς τὸ ἀντίπαλον, τὸ δὲ μὴ ἐμποδῶν ἀνανταγωνίστῳ εὐνοία τετιμῆται.—ὑπεστί, implying more or less concealment: cf. § 36<sup>2</sup>.

5. κρίνωμαι; am I to be judged? With the answer μηδαμῶς, we must understand κρίνωμαι, in the sense let me not be judged: cf. Plat. Rep. 527 C, τιθώμεν; with answer τιθώμεν. 7, 8. Here πρὸς σέ and ζώντων were pronounced with special emphasis. Supply ἐμὲ κρίνεσθαι. With προηρημένων cf. § 309<sup>3</sup>.

§ 316. 3. οὐ...ἡλικίας, no man can tell how great: οὐ μὲν οὖν, as usual, is emphatic and corrective.

4. ἐπὶ τὸν παρόντα βίον γιγνομένης (sc. εὐεργεσίας), shown to the present generation.

γιγνομένας εἰς ἀχαριστίαν καὶ προπηλακισμόν ἄγειν, 5  
 ἢ πᾶσιν ὅσοι τι μετ' εὐνοίας πράττουσι τῆς τούτων  
 τιμῆς καὶ φιλανθρωπίας μετείνειν; καὶ μὴν εἰ καὶ 317  
 τοῦτ' ἄρα δεῖ μ' εἰπεῖν, ἢ μὲν ἐμῇ πολιτείᾳ καὶ  
 προαίρεσιν, ἃν τις σκοπῇ, ταῖς τῶν τότε ἐπαινουμένων  
 ἀνδρῶν ὁμοίᾳ καὶ ταῦτ' αὖ βουλομένη φανήσεται, ἢ δὲ  
 σὴ ταῖς τῶν τοὺς τοιούτους τότε συκοφαντούντων 5  
 δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι καὶ κατ' ἐκείνους ἦσαν τινες, οἱ διασύ-  
 ροντες τοὺς ὄντας τότε τοὺς πρότερον γεγενημέ-  
 νους ἐπήνουν, βάσκανον πρᾶγμα καὶ ταῦτ' ποιούντες  
 σοί. εἴτα λέγεις ὡς οὐδὲν ὁμοίός εἰμι ἐκείνοις ἐγώ; 318  
 σὺ δ' ὅμοιος, Αἰσχίνη; ὁ δ' ἀδελφὸς ὁ σός; ἄλλος  
 δέ τις τῶν νῦν ῥητόρων; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οὐδένα φημί.  
 ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοὺς ζῶντας, ὦ χρηστὲ, ἵνα μηδὲν ἄλλ'  
 εἴπω, τὸν ζῶντα ἐξέταξε καὶ τοὺς καθ' αὐτὸν, ὥσπερ 5  
 331 τᾶλλα πάντα, τοὺς ποιητάς, τοὺς χοροὺς, τοὺς ἀγω-  
 νιστάς. ὁ Φιλάμμων οὐχ, ὅτι Γλαύκου τοῦ Καρυ- 319

5. εἰς ἀχαριστίαν ἄγειν: cf. § 112<sup>8</sup>.

7. τιμῆς καὶ φιλανθρωπίας: cf. § 209<sup>8</sup>.

§ 317. 1. εἰ...εἰπεῖν: he makes this slight apology for asserting even the following claim to be compared with the great men of old.

3. ἐπαινουμένων: imperfect, like συκοφαντούντων (5), as shown by τότε.

6. διασύροντες...ἐπήνουν: I keep *διασύροντες*, with 2 and 1, but omit δὲ before πρότερον (7). *διασύρω*, *ridicule*, is a favourite word with Demosthenes: it occurs elsewhere in this speech in §§ 27<sup>6</sup>, 126<sup>7</sup>, 180<sup>8</sup>, 218<sup>10</sup>, 299<sup>2</sup>, 323<sup>4,8</sup>, always in the same sense.

7. τότε: with ὄντας.

§ 318. 2. ὁ δ' ἀδελφὸς ὁ σός: Aeschines had two brothers, Philochares, older, and Aphobetus, younger than himself.

4. ὦ χρηστὲ, *my good man*, ironical: cf. §§ 30<sup>8</sup>, 89<sup>7</sup>.—ἵνα...εἴπω: this is generally understood to refer to the gentle style of address in *χρηστὲ*, to call you *nothing more*: see West. and Bl. But it may refer to πρὸς τοὺς ζῶντας (4), and imply that he will not press the slight claim to a comparison with the men of old made in § 317: it will then mean, *to claim no more than this*.

5. τοὺς καθ' αὐτὸν: with πρὸς (4).—ὥσπερ τᾶλλα πάντα, i.e. *as in other cases*, less exact than τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας.

6. τοὺς ποιητάς...ἀγωνιστάς, i.e. as in dramatic and other contests of that nature, and in the public games.

§ 319. 1. Φιλάμμων is chosen as an Athenian who had recently returned as an Olympic victor. Gla on the contrary, was one of the famous boxers of the time.

στίου καὶ τινων ἐτέρων πρότερον γεγεννημένων ἀθλητῶν  
 ἀσθενέστερος ἦν, ἀστεφάνωτος ἐκ τῆς Ὀλυμπίας  
 ἀπῆι, ἀλλ' ὅτι τῶν εἰσελθόντων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄριστ'  
 ἐμάχετο, ἐστεφανοῦτο καὶ νικῶν ἀνηγορεύετο. καὶ 5  
 σὺ πρὸς τοὺς νῦν ὄρα με ῥήτορας, πρὸς σαυτὸν,  
 πρὸς ὄντινα βούλει τῶν ἀπάντων· οὐδέν' ἐξίσταμαι.  
 ὦν, ὅτε μὲν τῇ πόλει τὰ βέλτισθ' ἐλέσθαι παρῆν, 320  
 ἐφαμίλλου τῆς εἰς τὴν πατρίδ' εὐνοίας ἐν κοινῷ πᾶσι  
 κειμένης, ἐγὼ κράτιστα λέγων ἐφαίνομην, καὶ τοῖς  
 ἐμοῖς καὶ ψηφίσμασι καὶ νόμοις καὶ πρεσβείαις  
 ἅπαντα διφκείτο, ὑμῶν δ' οὐδεὶς ἦν οὐδαμοῦ, πλὴν εἰ 5  
τούτοις ἐπηρεάσαι τι δέοι· ἐπειδὴ δ' ἂ μήποτ' ὄφελεν  
 συνέβη, καὶ οὐκέτι συμβούλων, ἀλλὰ τῶν τοῖς ἐπι-  
 ταττομένοις ὑπηρετούντων καὶ τῶν κατὰ τῆς πατρί-  
 δος μισθαρνεῖν ἐτοίμων καὶ τῶν κολακεύειν ἕτερον  
 βουλομένων ἐξέτασις, τηνικαῦτα σὺ καὶ τούτων 10

Persian wars, who, besides gaining a victory at Olympia, gained two Pythian, eight Nemean, and eight Isthmian prizes. Pausanias (vi. 10, 1—3) saw his statue at Olympia. See the fragment of the ode of Simonides in his honour (fr. 8, Bergk): οὐδὲ Πολυδεύκεος βία χεῖρας ἀντεῖναι· ἀνέναντιον αὐτῷ, οὐδὲ σιδάρεον· Ἀλκμάνας τέκος. Aeschines (III. 189) refers to this comparison as one which he "heard that Demosthenes would make." This is evidently a bold addition made to his speech after it was spoken.

4. εἰσελθόντων: cf. Soph. El. 700; Xen. An. vi. 1, 9.

6. ὄρα με: cf. θεωρῶμαι; (§ 315<sup>5</sup>) and ἐξέταζε (§ 318<sup>5</sup>).

7. οὐδέν' ἐξίσταμαι, *I shrink from no one*: this reading of the best MSS. agrees with Lobeck's rule (note on Soph. Aj. 82), that ἐξίσταμαι, *declinare*, takes the accusative, but in

the sense of *cedere*, the dative. For the dative see Soph. Phil. 1053, νῦν δὲ σοὶ γ' ἐκὼν ἐκστήσομαι.

§ 320. 1. ὦν, partitive with κράτιστα λέγων (3).

2. ἐφαμίλλου...κειμένης: the figure of a public contest is kept up, the privilege of showing devotion to the state being a prize open to general competition (ἐφαμίλλου). Cf. ἐνάμιλλον, Plat. Rep. 433 D.

5. ἦν οὐδαμοῦ: cf. § 310<sup>8</sup>.—εἰ...τι δέοι: the optative implies frequent occasions for insulting the people.

6. ἂ μήποτ' ὄφελεν (sc. συμβῆναι), i.e. the defeat: see 288<sup>0</sup>, and note οὐκέτι (7), opposed to δτε...παρῆν (1).

9. ἕτερον: this is the vague term by which Demosthenes often alludes to Alexander: see § 323<sup>1, 10</sup>.

10. ἐξέτασις: the familiar military figure recurs, i.e. *a call* for these, as for a review; and this is carried out in ἐν τάξει (11). Cf. note on § 173<sup>6</sup>.

ἕκαστος ἐν τάξει καὶ μέγας καὶ λαμπρὸς ἵπποτρόφος, ἐγὼ δ' ἀσθενής, ὁμολογῶ, ἀλλ' εὖνους μᾶλλον ὑμῶν τουτοισί. δύο δ', ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸν φύσει μέτριον 321 πολίτην ἔχειν δεῖ (οὕτω γάρ μοι περὶ ἔμαντοῦ λέγοντι ἀνεπιφθονώτατον εἰπεῖν), ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἐξουσίαις τὴν τοῦ γενναίου καὶ τοῦ πρωτείου τῇ πόλει προαίρεσιν διαφυλάττειν, ἐν παντὶ δὲ καιρῷ καὶ πράξει τὴν 5 εὖνοϊαν· τούτου γὰρ ἡ φύσις κυρία, τοῦ δύνασθαι δὲ καὶ ἰσχύειν ἕτερα. ταύτην τοίνυν παρ' ἐμοὶ μεμενηκυῖαν εὐρήσεθ' ἀπλῶς. ὁρᾶτε δέ. οὐκ ἐξαιτούμενος, 322 οὐκ εἰς Ἀμφικτύονας δίκας ἐπαγόντων, οὐκ ἀπειλούν-

11. ἵπποτρόφος: the keeping of horses was a sign of wealth, and the word implies that Aeschines had become a richer and more powerful man at Athens since the complete establishment of Alexander's supremacy. Cf. Ar. Nub. 15.

12. ἀσθενής: Aeschines (159) speaks of Dem. at this time as ὑπότρομος, παριὼν ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα. Westermann refers this to the time when Philip was made a citizen of Athens and his statue was erected in the city (Plat. Dem. 22; Paus. 1. 9, 4). It more probably refers to the recent honours paid to Alexander: see C. I. Att. II. no. 741, dated by Köhler in 331 B.C., στεφάνων δυοῖν, οἷς ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων ἐστεφάνωσε Ἀλέξανδρον].

§ 321. 1. μέτριον: see § 107.<sup>8</sup>

2. οὕτω (with εἰπεῖν): he uses μέτριος here modestly, as he is speaking of himself; but he means the man called καλὸς κάγαθος πολίτης in § 278<sup>8</sup> and 306<sup>1</sup> (see Blass).

3, 4. ἐν ταῖς ἐξουσίαις, i.e. ὅτε... ἐλέσθαι παρὴν, 320<sup>1</sup>, in time of power. —τὴν...προαίρεσιν, the policy which aims at nobility and pre-eminence; and τῇ πόλει διαφυλάττειν, to guard this always for the state. For τοῦ πρωτείου see § 66<sup>7</sup>.

5. πράξει (sc. ἐν πάσῃ) may mean in every act (of the statesman). But Blass is probably right in taking it in the sense of fortune, like εὖ and κακῶς πράττειν: see Aeschyl. Prom. 695, πράξιν Ἰοῦς; Hdt. III. 65 (ἐπὶ), ἀπέκλειε πᾶσαν τὴν ἐωυτοῦ πράξιν; and Soph. Tr. 294, εὐτυχῇ κλύουσα πράξιν τήνδε.

6. εὖνοϊαν, loyal devotion to the state: so in § 322<sup>8</sup>. —τούτου, i.e. τὴν εὖνοϊαν διαφυλάττειν.

7. ἕτερα, other things, as chance or Fortune, which he cannot control. —ταύτην: i.e. τὴν εὖνοϊαν.

8. ἀπλῶς, absolutely, without exception.

§ 322. 1. ἐξαιτούμενος, i.e. by Alexander; see the next note and note on § 41<sup>10</sup>.

2. εἰς Ἀμφικτύονας, before the Amphictyonic Council: cf. ἐν Ἀμφικτύουσιν, XIX. 181 (also without the article). When Alexander demanded the orators of Athens in 335 B.C., he doubtless intended to have them tried by the Amphictyonic Council: see Aesch. III. 161, καὶ τὸ πάντων δεινώτατον, ὑμεῖς μὲν τοῦτον οὐ προῖδοτε, οὐδ' εἰσάτε κριθῆναι ἐν τῷ τῶν Ἑλλήνων συνεδρίῳ. Notice the spirit of this sentence. What a trial this would have been for Demosthenes,

των, οὐκ ἐπαγγελλομένων, οὐχὶ τοὺς καταράτους  
 τούτους ὥσπερ θηρία μοι προσβαλλόντων, οὐδαμῶς  
 ἐγὼ προδέδωκα τὴν εἰς ὑμᾶς εὐνοίαν. τὸ γὰρ ἐξ<sup>1</sup> 5  
 ἀρχῆς εὐθὺς ὀρθὴν καὶ δικαίαν τὴν ὁδὸν τῆς πολι-  
 τείας εἰλόμην, τὰς τιμὰς, τὰς δυναστείας, τὰς εὐδο-  
 ξίας τὰς τῆς πατρίδος θεραπεύειν, ταύτας αὔξειν,  
 μετὰ τούτων εἶναι. οὐκ ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς ἐτέρων εὐτυχί- 323  
 μασι φαιδρὸς ἐγὼ καὶ γεγηθὼς κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν  
 περιέρχομαι, τὴν δεξιὰν προτείνων καὶ εὐαγγελιζό-

yperides, and Lycurgus! Schaefer II. 198) refers the passages of both emosthenes and Aeschines to an tempt to bring Demosth. before the mphictyonic Council in 330 B.C. on count of his complicity with the bellion of Agis (see note on § 323<sup>4</sup>). δίκας ἐπαγόντων, *bringing suits* gainst me): see § 249<sup>8</sup>.

3. ἐπαγγελλομένων: cf. ἐπαγγελιῶν γεθος, § 298<sup>2</sup>.—τοὺς καταράτους ὕτους, the whole pack of sycophants entioned in § 249<sup>1-9</sup>.

4. προσβαλλόντων, *setting them* (as θηρία); cf. προσβάλλεσθαι, *to* lack.

6. ὀρθὴν...εἰλόμην: cf. 321<sup>8</sup>, γν...προαίρεσιν. For the predicate ljectives cf. § 298<sup>7</sup>.

7. δυναστείας: cf. §§ 67<sup>2,3</sup>, 270<sup>5</sup>. ναστεία means *lordly power*; and hen it refers to a ruler, it often eans *absolute power* or *despotism*. at it can also mean (as here), in a od sense, the lordly power which thens once exercised over her pendent states, and which she ways aspired to exercise.

8. θεραπεύειν, αὔξειν, εἶναι explain θὴν...ὁδὸν (6).

9. μετὰ τούτων εἶναι, *to be faithful* these (τὰς τιμὰς...τὰς τῆς πατρίδος), . *to be on their side*: see Ar. Ach.

11. τὸ γὰρ εὖ μετ' ἐμοῦ καὶ τὸ δίκαιον μαχὸν ἔσται.

§ 323. 1. οὐκ belongs to both περιέρχομαι (3) and ἀκούω (5).— ἐτέρων, i.e. the Macedonians; as ἕτερος (10) and ἕτερον (§ 320<sup>9</sup>) refer to Alexander.—εὐτυχήμασι: the victories of Alexander at the Granicus (334 B.C.), at Issus (333 B.C.), and at Arbela (331 B.C.), were still fresh in recollection, the last not yet a year old.

3, 4. εὐαγγελιζόμενος, properly *announcing good tidings* (cf. εὐαγγέλιον, *Gospel*), but here *congratulating on good news*, e.g. saying "This is a great victory."—τούτοις οὖς ἀν... οἴωμαι: the apparently definite antecedent is peculiar before the conditional relative clause. He means *any of those* (a well-known class) *who I ever think are likely to report thither* (to Macedonia) such an event as my congratulating them on a victory of Alexander. It has, I believe, never been asked who these men may have been. There were, of course, many Macedonians in Athens at this time, and there were many Athenians who would welcome news of Macedonian victories. But the greatest Macedonian who ever lived, the philosopher Aristotle, was then a resident in Athens at the head of the Lyceum. His relations with the Court of Pella and with Alexander were most intimate. Who would be more likely

μειος τούτοις οὓς ἂν ἐκεῖσ' ἐπαγγέλλειν οἶωμαι, τῶν δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἀγαθῶν πεφρικῶς ἀκούω καὶ στένων 5 καὶ κύπτων εἰς τὴν γῆν, ὥσπερ οἱ δυσσεβεῖς οὗτοι, οἳ τὴν μὲν πόλιν διασύρουσιν, ὥσπερ οὐχ αὐτοὺς διασύροντες ὅταν τοῦτο ποιῶσιν, ἔξω δὲ βλέπουσι, καὶ ἐν οἷς ἀτυχησάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων εὐτύχησεν ἕτερος, ταύτ' ἐπαινοῦσι καὶ ὅπως τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον 10 μενεῖ φασὶ δεῖν τηρεῖν.

Μὴ δῆτ', ὦ πάντες θεοὶ, μηδεὶς ταῦθ' ὑμῶν ἐπινεύ- 324 σσειν, ἀλλὰ μάλιστα μὲν καὶ τούτοις βελτίω τινὰ νοῦν καὶ φρένας ἐνθείητε, εἰ δ' ἄρ' ἔχουσιν ἀνιάτως,

to report to Pella, or even to Alexander himself, that Demosthenes had congratulated him on the victory at Arbela, if he had any such pleasant fact to report? It would be interesting, though not quite pleasant, to find an allusion to the great philosopher in this striking passage.

4. τῶν...ἀγαθῶν: these *advantages* may be the early successes of the Spartan king Agis in his revolt against Macedonia in the spring of 330 B.C. (Diod. xvii. 63). Aeschines (167) quotes Demosthenes as saying of this, ὡς ἀντιπράττων Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, "ὁμολογῶ τὰ Λακωνικά συστήσαι· ὁμολογῶ Θετταλοὺς καὶ Περραιβοὺς ἀφιστάναι." See Grote xii., ch. 95. The words τῶν...ἀγαθῶν more probably refer to the interest of Athens in the reverses of Alexander, which were occasionally reported from Asia. Aeschines (164) describes Demosthenes as once reporting that Alexander was shut up in Cilicia, and αὐτίκα μάλα ἐμελλε συμπατηθῆσθαι ὑπὸ τῆς Περσικῆς ἵππου. This shows that the mere report of a disaster to Alexander roused the spirit of liberty at Athens, even in her deep humiliation.

6. κύπτων εἰς τὴν γῆν: cf. Caes.

B. G. i. 32, 2, tristes capite demisso terram intueri.

7. διασύρουσιν: see note on § 317<sup>b</sup>.—ὥσπερ οὐχ with the participle shows that there is nothing conditional in the expression: see note on § 276<sup>1</sup>.

8. ἔξω βλέπουσι: cf. Plut. Arat. 15, ταῖς ἐλπίσιν ἔξω βλέπων.

9. ἐν οἷς (cf. § 19<sup>b</sup>) belongs equally to ἀτυχησάντων and εὐτύχησεν.

10. ταῦτ', this *state of things* (ἐν οἷς...ἕτερος), understood also as subject of μενεῖ.

§ 324. The Peroration is confined to this single impressive sentence. As he began his oration by beseeching the Gods to put it into the hearts of the judges to hear him impartially, so now he implores them to change the hearts of the traitors within the state, or, if it is too late for this, to annihilate them utterly as the only hope of safety to honest men.

2. μάλιστα μὲν, if possible, best of all.

3. ἐνθείητε, may you inspire even in them: this combines the wish with an exhortation (M.T. 725). In the corresponding clause with δὲ we have the imperatives ποιῆσατε and δότε.—εἰ δ' ἄρ', but if after all.

τούτους μὲν αὐτοὺς καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἐξώλεις καὶ προώ-  
 λεις ἐν γῇ καὶ θαλάττῃ ποιήσατε, ἡμῖν δὲ τοῖς 5  
 λοιποῖς τὴν ταχίστην ἀπαλλαγὴν τῶν ἐπηρτημένων  
 φόβων δότε καὶ σωτηρίαν ἀσφαλῆ.

4. αὐτοὺς καθ' ἑαυτοὺς: the strongest expression for *by themselves*. —ἐξώλεις καὶ προώλεις ποιήσατε, *cause them to be destroyed utterly and before their time*: see Shilleto's note on XIX. 172, ἐξώλης ἀπολοίμην καὶ προώλης. Westermann quotes an inscription of Halicarnassus from Keil, Sched. Epigr. p. 36: ἐξώλης καὶ πανώλης ἔστω καὶ γένος ἐκ γένους, καὶ μήτε γῇ βατὴ αὐτῷ μήτε θάλασσα πλωτῇ.

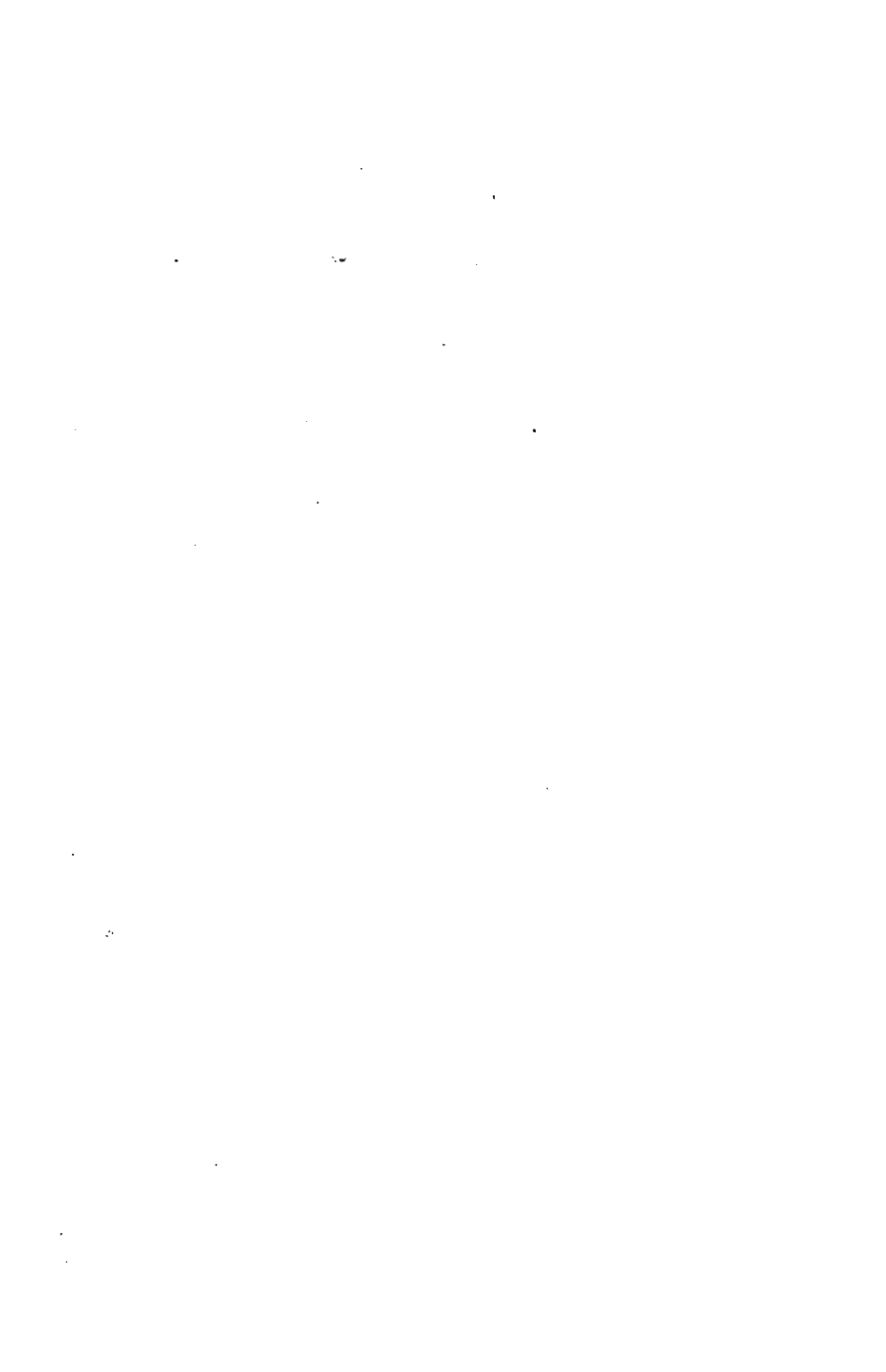
5. ἐν γῇ καὶ θαλάττῃ, i.e. in all their ways.

6. ἐπηρτημένων, *impending*: for the passive of ἐπαρτῶ see XXIII.

140, τοσοῦτος ἐπήρτηται φόβος. Cf. Aesch. I. 175, φόβους ἐπήρτησα τοῖς ἀκρωμένοις, i.e. *I caused terrors to hang over them* (impendere).

7. σωτηρίαν ἀσφαλῆ, *safety which cannot be shaken*.

With these solemn but hopeful words of good cheer, Demosthenes leaves his case and his reputation with perfect confidence in the hands of the judges. Since the success of his burst of eloquence in §§ 51, 52, he has felt no anxiety about the judgment, and his courage has increased steadily in every stage of his argument.



## HISTORICAL SKETCH

### FROM THE ACCESSION OF PHILIP OF MACEDON TO THE BATTLE OF CHAERONEA.

#### I. FROM THE ACCESSION OF PHILIP IN 359 TO 352 B.C.

1. The battle of Mantinea and the death of Epaminondas in 362 B.C. mark the beginning of a new era in Greek history. The brilliant statesmanship and military genius of Epaminondas had raised Thebes to the highest position as a military power, and had reduced Sparta from her leadership of Greece to a condition of extreme danger. Sparta was held in check by the new hostile towns of Megalopolis and Messene, and she had for the first time seen an invading army within her streets. Athens now thought it expedient to forget her ancient enmity, and to make common cause with her old rival: at Mantinea Athens and Sparta fought side by side against Thebes. The death of Epaminondas at the moment of victory broke the spirit and the power of Thebes; Athens was suddenly relieved of her great alarm, and now no longer feared the removal of her Propylaea to the Cadmea of Thebes. Greece was left without a head, and Athens was encouraged to hope for a recovery of the leadership which she had lost by the Peloponnesian War.

2. During the five succeeding years Athens devoted herself to establishing her power in the North, especially in her old dominion, the Thracian Chersonese, which came anew into her possession in 357 B.C. Earlier in the same year she had made her famous expedition

for the liberation of Euboea, of which Demosthenes often speaks with pride, when she cleared the whole island of Thebans in thirty days and wrested it permanently from Thebes, which had held it since the battle of Leuctra in 371 B.C. In 357 B.C. the new Athenian confederacy reached its greatest power and extent. It included a large part of the islands of the Aegean, Byzantium, the Chersonese and the south of Thrace, Potidaea, Methone, and Pydna, with much of the coast of the Thermaic Gulf. But in the autumn of that year the hopes of Athens were violently shattered by the outbreak of the Social War, in which Chios, Cos, Rhodes, and Byzantium, encouraged by Mausolus of Caria, suddenly revolted and weakened her power at its most vital points. This disastrous war ended in the spring of 355, when Athens was compelled to acknowledge the independence of the four seceding states. Thus crippled she found herself in the face of a new and more dangerous enemy.

3. In 359 B.C. Philip II. succeeded to the throne of Macedonia at the age of twenty-three. Macedonia had hitherto filled only a small place in Greek politics; and it threatened no danger to Grecian liberty. Under Philip this was suddenly changed. This crafty king lost no time in laying his plans for his great object, the extension of his power and influence over Greece. His regular policy was to interfere in a friendly way in the quarrels of Greek states, in the hope of getting one or both of the parties into his own power. He began at once by offering help to Athens in her dispute about the possession of her old colony Amphipolis. He proposed a treaty of peace with Athens, with the understanding that he would secure Amphipolis for her and receive Pydna (on his own coast) in exchange. These negotiations, though known to the Senate, were kept secret from the people of Athens<sup>1</sup>; but great hopes were based on Philip's friendship, and Athens not only neglected to take Amphipolis when it was left ungarrisoned by Philip, but refused to help the town afterwards when Philip was besieging it<sup>2</sup>. But when Philip captured the place in 357 he refused to give it to her, though he had again promised to do so during the siege<sup>3</sup>. This soon led to a war between Philip and Athens, called the Amphipolitan War, which after eleven years was ended in

<sup>1</sup> This is the *θρυλούμενον ἀπόρητον* of Dem. II. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Dem. I. 8.

<sup>3</sup> Dem. XXIII. 116.

346 by the Peace of Philocrates. One of Philip's first acts in this war was the seizure of Pydna, which was to have been the price of Amphipolis. He soon afterwards (356) captured Potidaea, then subject to Athens, and gave it to Olynthus, with which he was then forming an alliance. Soon after the capture of Potidaea three messages came to Philip at the same time, one announcing a victory of Parmenio over the Illyrians, another a victory of his horse in the Olympic races, and a third the birth of his son Alexander<sup>1</sup>. In the same year he founded Philippi, near Mt Pangaeus in Thrace, to enable him to work the gold-mines of that region, from which he soon derived a revenue of over a thousand talents yearly. In 353 he besieged and captured the Athenian possession Methone.

4. He now entered upon a grander scheme of intervention, of which perhaps he hardly suspected the issue. This was to end in the bitter humiliation of Athens, the annihilation of an ancient Greek race, and his own instalment as the leading member of the venerable Amphictyonic Council. In 356—355 B.C. the disastrous Phocian War between the Amphictyonic Council and Phocis had begun. It resulted from a quarrel between Phocis and Thebes, in the course of which the Thebans and Thessalians induced the Council to fine the Phocians for some act of real or constructive sacrilege. They refused to pay the fine, and the Council voted to treat them as it had treated the sacrilegious Cirrhaeans in the time of Solon<sup>2</sup>, by seizing their land and consecrating it to the Delphian Apollo, and putting the whole Phocian race under a terrible curse. The Phocians, under their leader Philomelus, decided to resist; and they revived an old claim to the management of the temple of Delphi, which had caused a short Sacred War in 448 B.C.<sup>3</sup> Philomelus with a body of Phocians now seized the temple. The loyal Amphictyons, now chiefly Thebans, Thessalians, and Locrians, raised a large army to attack them; and the Phocians in turn raised a large mercenary force to defend the temple. After many promises to respect the sacred treasures, Philomelus was soon reduced to the necessity of using these to pay his soldiers; and in a few years the costly offerings of gold and silver, with which the

<sup>1</sup> Alexander was born (Plut. Alex. 3) on the 6th of Hecatombaeon (July 21), 356 B.C.

<sup>2</sup> See below, § 59 (end).

<sup>3</sup> Thuc. I. 112.

religious pride of Greece and the munificence of strangers had stored the temple, had been melted down to supply the needs of his mercenaries. Philomelus was killed in a skirmish in 354 B.C.; his successor Onomarchus continued the spoliation of the temple with still greater energy. He and his successors gave the most precious relics, as the necklaces of Helen and of Harmonia, to their wives or mistresses to wear. This state of things caused a scandal throughout Greece, which made it easy and attractive for an unscrupulous outsider like Philip to intervene on the side of piety, and thus to pose as the champion of the God of Delphi. This Philip did at the earliest opportunity.

5. He had already interfered in Thessaly by aiding the Aleuadae of Larissa against Lycophron, despot of Pherae. In 353—352 B.C. he attacked Lycophron with such vigour that the despot invoked the aid of Onomarchus. The Phocians had now become so powerful that they had marched forth from Delphi and were practically masters of Boeotia and of the whole region south of Thermopylae. A force of Phocians under Phayllus, the brother and afterwards the successor of Onomarchus, which marched to the aid of Lycophron, was defeated by Philip, and compelled to retreat beyond Thermopylae. Onomarchus then entered Thessaly with his whole army, and defeated Philip in two battles. But Philip soon returned with a new army, and defeated the Phocians completely. Onomarchus, it was said, was slain in the retreat by some of his own men. Lycophron abandoned Pherae, which was taken by Philip, who also captured the seaport of Pagasae, which gave him control of the Pagasaeon Gulf. The Phocian army was annihilated; but Phayllus took his brother's command, and easily raised another mercenary force by offering double pay, which the sacred treasures still provided<sup>1</sup>.

6. While this new force was collecting, the road through Thermopylae lay open to Philip. Since his defeat of the Phocians he was hailed as a protector by their enemies; and he was already recognized as the avenger of Apollo, who was to restore the holy temple to its rightful lord; and it was confidently expected that he would pass Thermopylae with his army and become a power in central Greece. But at this momentous crisis Athens became fully alive to the danger

<sup>1</sup> Grote XI. 408—418.

which threatened Greece and especially herself. With an energy which was unusual at this period and recalled the most glorious of her older days, she sent a force by sea to Thermopylae, which prevented Philip from even attempting to force the pass, and which (strange to say) arrived in time. Demosthenes often alludes with pride to this exploit of Athens<sup>1</sup>, which took place shortly before midsummer, 352 B.C. Though Philip received this temporary check, he was now recognized as a power to be reckoned with in the settlement of the Sacred War; and he used this position with great skill, until six years later he was enabled to end the war on his own terms, to humiliate Athens, and by a single blow to make himself a recognized partner in Greek affairs.

## II. EARLY LIFE OF DEMOSTHENES.—EVENTS FROM 352 TO 348 B.C.

7. In 354 B.C., two years before Philip was repulsed at Thermopylae by Athens, a statesman appeared in the Athenian Assembly who was to be his most able and persistent opponent, and to whom it was chiefly due that his plans for the subjugation of Greece were delayed more than fifteen years. Demosthenes, son of Demosthenes, was born at Athens, according to the date now generally accepted, in 384—383 B.C., the year in which probably Aristotle was born at Stageiros<sup>2</sup>. The father of Demosthenes died in 376—375, leaving his son in his eighth year and a daughter in her fifth. He left an estate of about fifteen talents (£3000 or \$15000)<sup>3</sup>, to be managed during the son's minority by three guardians. These mismanaged the property ten years in the most dishonest manner, so that the estate had nearly vanished when their ward attained his majority in 366 at the age of

<sup>1</sup> Dem. Cor. 32, iv. 17, 35, xix. 84.

<sup>2</sup> The lives of Demosthenes and Aristotle coincide almost exactly, as Aristotle died at Chalcis in the autumn of 322 B.C., a few weeks before the death of Demosthenes at Calauria.

<sup>3</sup> I give the modern value of the weight of silver in the Solonic talent (57½ lbs. avoirdupois) at £200 or \$1000, this being the average value for many years before the recent decline in silver (see Liddell and Scott under *τάλαντον*). In 1903 this weight of silver has sometimes been worth less than £100.

eighteen. Demosthenes immediately began legal proceedings against his chief guardian Aphobus. During two years he attempted to bring his guardians to terms by private negotiations; but all this time he was preparing for the great contest. He secured the services of Isaeus, a jurist of great experience in the courts, who was deeply learned in the Attic law relating to inheritance and the management of estates.

8. In 364 B.C. his suit came to trial, and he was awarded his full damages, ten talents. In this suit he delivered his two orations against Aphobus (xxvii. and xxviii.). But he found it impossible to obtain either his estate or his damages from his wily opponent. The training in law and rhetoric which Demosthenes gained in preparing for this early contest, and his experience in the courts, were by no means lost. He found himself, at the age of twenty-three, mainly dependent on himself for support; and he adopted the profession of *λογογράφος* or legal adviser, the duties of which included writing speeches for clients to deliver in court. But he soon aimed at something much higher than writing speeches and giving advice in private lawsuits. Before he was thirty years old he had distinguished himself as an advocate in cases of important public interest, in which the constitutionality of laws or decrees was judicially tested. His arguments in such cases (355—351 B.C.) are those against Androtion (xxii.), Leptines (xx.), Timocrates (xxiv.), and Aristocrates (xxiii.). He had already twice appeared as a speaker in the Athenian Assembly, once in 354—353, when he delivered his speech on the Symmories (xiv.), proposing a reform in the system of assessing taxes and equipping the navy, and once again in 353—352, when he defended the rights of Megalopolis (xvi.) against Spartan aggression. In neither of these public speeches is there anything which shows that the orator was seriously anxious about the dangers which already threatened Athens from the north: but he probably thought that the moment for open and energetic speech and action on his part against Philip had not yet come.

9. Probably the sudden panic in 352, which roused Athens to her energetic movement to Thermopylae (§ 6), gave the question of checking Philip a more serious importance. A few months later (Nov. 352) the alarming news came that Philip was besieging Heraion Teichos, a fortified post near the Thracian Chersonese. Again Athens acted with energy, and voted to equip forty triremes and to levy a tax

of sixty talents. But a report that Philip was ill, followed by another that he was dead, stopped these preparations, and nothing was done<sup>1</sup>. Philip's cruisers committed some daring aggressions on the coasts of Euboea and even of Attica. In the spring of 351 the Athenian Assembly met to consider his hostile behaviour, which was now a familiar subject. Demosthenes was the first to speak, and he spoke with no uncertain sound. This earliest of his speeches against Philip, the *First Philippic*, is an earnest and solemn appeal to the people to take decisive steps against an enemy who is every day becoming more dangerous. Demosthenes is now thoroughly aroused, and henceforth the single object of his political life is to excite the Athenians to effective action against Philip. He now proposes a new plan for a permanent military and naval force, to supersede the spasmodic efforts of the past. In this speech he established his claim to statesmanship, on the ground of "seeing things in their beginning and proclaiming them to others"; and in his final review of his political life twenty-one years later he appeals to this with honest pride<sup>2</sup>. So far as we know, this great speech produced no effect.

A few months after the *First Philippic*, probably in the autumn of 351, Demosthenes made his speech in the Assembly for the Freedom of the Rhodians (xv.).

10. Philip's intrigues in Euboea soon made new troubles. Since the victorious expedition in 357 (§ 2) Euboea had been nominally in friendship with Athens. But after Philip gained control of southern Thessaly (§ 5), he constantly used his influence to alienate the island from Athens. In the *First Philippic* letters were read from Philip to Euboeans, showing hostility to Athens; and we hear of his cruisers off *Geraestus*<sup>3</sup>. Early in 350 the Athenians were asked to help Plutarchus, a sort of despot in Eretria, who was hard pressed by his enemies and professed to be a friend of Athens. Against the strong opposition of Demosthenes, it was voted to send an army to help him, under the command of Phocion. This expedition had various fortunes in a few weeks. Plutarchus proved treacherous, and the Athenians were for a time in great danger; but Phocion gained a

<sup>1</sup> Dem. III. 4, IV. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Cor. § 246: *ἰδεῖν τὰ πράγματα ἀρχόμενα κ.τ.λ.*

<sup>3</sup> IV. 34, 37.

decisive victory at Tamynae, and soon returned to Athens with most of his army. Affairs remained in this position two years, until a peace was made in 348, in which the independence of Euboea was recognized. Athens and Euboea remained unfriendly, until the intrigues of Philip in 343—342 again brought them into amicable relations<sup>1</sup>.

11. The Great Dionysiac festival of 350 was important for the fortunes of Demosthenes. His tribe, the Pandionis, chose no choregus for this year, and he volunteered to take the duties and bear the expense of the χορηγία. While he was sitting in the orchestra of the theatre at the festival, amid all the pomp and state of the ceremony, being a sacred as well as a public official, wearing his crown of office, his old enemy, the wealthy Midias, came forward and struck him in the face with his clenched fist<sup>2</sup>. This was not merely a personal outrage, but an insult to the state and to a great religious festival: and it could be dealt with only by the most public legal process. This was the *πρβολή*, in which the case first came before the Assembly for its preliminary judgment, and afterward, if the decision was adverse to the accused, could be tried before an ordinary popular court. The Assembly, at a special meeting in the Dionysiac Theatre, unanimously condemned Midias. After this decisive victory it is not surprising that the young orator yielded to the advice of judicious friends and avoided a further contest with a powerful man, who could always give him trouble in his public career. He compromised the case, and received a sum of money as damages. The existing oration against Midias (xxi.), which appears to have been composed for delivery in court about a year after the assault, was never spoken.

12. A year later (in 349) Philip took a most important step in his grand plan by attacking the Olynthiac confederacy of thirty-two free Greek towns in the Chalcidic peninsula. In less than a year he had captured and destroyed all these, and sold the inhabitants into slavery. Olynthus, the head of this confederacy, had long been an important and flourishing city, generally hostile to Athens, and before 352 friendly to Philip. He encouraged her in her enmity to Athens by

<sup>1</sup> See § 46 (below).

<sup>2</sup> For the affair of Midias and its consequences, see Dem. xxi., against Midias; Grote xi. 478, 479; Schaefer, Dem. ii. 94—101. The date is much disputed: see large edition, p. 240.

giving her Potidaea, which he took from Athens in 356 (§ 3). But the rapid advance of Philip's power in 353—352 alarmed the enterprising city, and in the autumn of 352 she was in friendship, if not in alliance, with Athens<sup>1</sup>. In the autumn of 349 an embassy from Olynthus came to Athens, asking help against an attack from Philip, and proposing a formal alliance<sup>2</sup>. Athens accepted the alliance; but nothing was done with sufficient energy to save Olynthus or any of her confederate towns. Three embassies came from Olynthus to Athens, and three fleets were sent by Athens to Olynthus; the last fleet was still at sea when Olynthus fell. The city was captured, after a brave defence, by the help of traitors within the walls, probably in the early autumn of 348<sup>3</sup>. Many Athenian citizens were captured with the city. With Olynthus fell the other Chalcidic towns, and the destruction was complete and terrible. Seldom had anything shocked the feelings of the Grecian world like this. Travellers in Peloponnesus (Aeschines among others) saw on the roads troops of Olynthian captives driven off to slavery<sup>4</sup>.

During the Olynthian war Demosthenes delivered his three Olynthiacs, masterpieces of eloquence, full of earnest appeals to the patriotism and public spirit of the Athenians and to their sense of duty and honour. The wise prediction of the First Philippic, "if we do not now fight Philip there (in the north), we shall perhaps be compelled to fight him here<sup>5</sup>," is now repeated in fresh words and with redoubled force. No more powerful arguments were ever addressed to any people; and yet the quieting influence of Eubulus and his party prevented all efficient and timely action. At the end of the Olynthian War (348) Demosthenes was probably in his thirty-sixth year. All the public speeches made by him before the events of 347—346 B.C. have already been mentioned.

<sup>1</sup> Dem. XXIII. 109, εἰτ' Ὀλύνθιοι μὲν ἴσασι τὸ μέλλον προορᾶν, κ.τ.λ.

<sup>2</sup> I. 2, 7.

<sup>3</sup> Diod. XVI. 53, φθείρας χρήμασι...Εὐθυκράτην τε καὶ Λασθέην, κ.τ.λ. See Dem. VIII. 40, IX. 56, 66, XIX. 265, and Grote XI. 454 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Dem. XIX. 305, 306, and Grote XI. 505, 510.

<sup>5</sup> IV. 50.

## III. THE PEACE OF PHILOCRATES.

347—346 B.C.

13. When Philip had destroyed Olynthus and the thirty-two Greek towns of Chalcidice, he naturally turned his eyes to the land of his hopes beyond Thermopylae. He now saw that at least a temporary peace with Athens was absolutely necessary. Even before the capture of Olynthus envoys from Euboea had brought to Athens a pleasant message from Philip that he wished for peace. Soon after this Phrynon of Rhamnus was captured by one of Philip's cruisers. He was released on payment of a ransom, and he persuaded the Athenians to send a public envoy with him to ask Philip to restore his ransom money. Ctesiphon (not the defendant in the suit on the Crown) was sent with him on this mission. Philip received them with great kindness and granted their request. Ctesiphon reported that Philip wished to make peace as soon as possible<sup>1</sup>. The Athenians were delighted; and it was unanimously voted, on the motion of Philocrates, that Philip might send a herald and envoys to Athens to treat for peace.

At about this time Olynthus was captured (§ 12). The consternation caused by this event did much to excite the almost universal desire for peace at Athens. The relatives of two Athenians captured at Olynthus appeared in the Assembly with suppliant olive-branches and besought the people to rescue their kinsmen. The people were deeply moved, and voted to send the actor Aristodemus, who was professionally intimate at the Macedonian court, to intercede with Philip for the prisoners. This mission also was perfectly successful. Aristodemus reported that Philip was full of kindness and wished both peace and alliance with Athens. Aristodemus was complimented by a crown, on the motion of Demosthenes. His return to Athens took place after the beginning of 347—346, the archonship of Themistocles, in which Demosthenes was for the second time a senator, the year of the peace of Philocrates.

14. In the previous year, after the fall of Olynthus, a significant movement against Philip was made by Eubulus, with the active aid of Aeschines. Eubulus was the conservative statesman of the day, uni-

<sup>1</sup> For this and the following events of § 13, see Aesch. ii. 12—19.

versally respected, incorruptibly honest, but a strong advocate of peace at any price<sup>1</sup>. Of Aeschines we then hear for the first time in political life. The famous rival of Demosthenes was the son of respectable parents, who had been reduced to poverty in the Peloponnesian War. We cannot accept as historical either of the two accounts of his parentage and his youth which are given by Demosthenes<sup>2</sup>. Neither orator is authority for the life or personal character of the other. Like Demosthenes, he was left to his own resources to earn his living; but he was less favoured by genius and by fortune than his rival. As a young man he was a play-actor and took many important parts, as that of Creon in the *Antigone* and that of Oenomaus in the tragedy of Sophocles of that name<sup>3</sup>. He also did service as a clerk, publicly in the Senate and Assembly, and privately in the employ of Aristophon and Eubulus. His friendly relations with Eubulus were often of great service to him in his public life. He was strong and vigorous, had a powerful voice, and was a ready speaker<sup>4</sup>. In all these respects Nature had given him a great advantage over Demosthenes; but he lacked the steady rhetorical training by which his rival, even as a young man, made himself an accomplished orator. Though he was about six years older than Demosthenes, he appeared in public life much later.

15. On the occasion referred to (§ 14), probably in the winter or spring of 348—347, Eubulus addressed the Assembly, calling Philip the common enemy of the Greeks and swearing by his children that he wished that Philip were dead. He proposed a decree for sending embassies to the Peloponnesus and all other parts of Greece—Demosthenes says, “all but to the Red Sea”—to summon an Hellenic synod at Athens and inaugurate a general Greek war against Philip<sup>5</sup>. This measure was eloquently supported by Aeschines and was adopted with enthusiasm. Demosthenes says that Aeschines then professed to be the first Athenian who had discovered that Philip was plotting against the Greeks. Aeschines was one of the envoys sent out; and on his return he repeated the fine speeches which he had made in

<sup>1</sup> For Eubulus see Grote xi. 387, 388.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Dem. xix. 249, 250; Cor. 129, 130.

<sup>3</sup> xix. 246, 247; Cor. 180.

<sup>4</sup> See Cic. de Orat. iii. 28: suavitatem Isocrates, subtilitatem Lysias, acumen Hyperides, sonitum Aeschines, vim Demosthenes habuit.

<sup>5</sup> Dem. xix. 292, 304.

behalf of Athens against Philip at Megalopolis<sup>1</sup>. Demosthenes appears to have taken no interest in these embassies, of which he speaks in a disparaging tone. He probably distrusted any movement in which men like Eubulus were leaders, and experience had shown him that their grand plan of uniting all Greece in a war against Philip would end in failure and give Philip fresh encouragement for conquest. The event proved Demosthenes right. No Hellenic synod met in Athens, and within a year Eubulus and Aeschines were both playing into Philip's hands. It must be remembered that the "still absent envoys," who play so important a part in the story of the peace (as told by Aeschines in 330 B.C.), for whose return Demosthenes is said to have refused to delay the negotiations *for peace*, are these very messengers of war<sup>2</sup>.

16. A year later it is certain that the prospect of an honourable peace with Philip was extremely welcome to all sober-minded men at Athens. Her recent losses and disasters secured a favourable hearing for the friendly messages from Pella. There can be no doubt that Demosthenes then felt strongly inclined to peace, as a matter of policy; and it is hardly possible that he had yet begun to suspect the crafty scheme by which peace with Philip would be turned to the disgrace of Athens and the triumph of her bitterest foes. And yet it seems hardly possible that the terrible spectre of the Sacred War, just beyond their borders, should not have filled all sober Athenians with alarm, especially when they remembered Philip's march to Thermopylae five years before (§ 6). Philip himself, we may be sure, never lost sight of the prize which had once seemed within his grasp.

17. Since Philip's repulse from Thermopylae in 352, the Sacred War had been waged with increasing bitterness, but with no prospect of a conclusion. In 351 the death of Phayllus left the leadership to Phalaecus, son of Onomarchus (§ 5), a mere boy. The Thebans were now the chief opponents of the Phocians, and Boeotia became the chief seat of war. Neither side gained any decisive advantage, and the resources of both parties were now exhausted. The Phocians had come to the end of the Delphic treasures, after robbing the temple of gold and silver of the value of about 10,000 talents. They received help from various Greek states, including 1000 men from Sparta and

<sup>1</sup> Dem. XIX. 11.

<sup>2</sup> See § 24 (below).

2000 from Achaia. It is probable that their army never fell below 10,000<sup>1</sup>. (See § 36.)

18. The Phocians were now anxious lest a new invasion from Thessaly with help from Philip might suddenly end their power. Their army was mutinous from lack of pay, and the authority over it was divided. Envoys were sent to Athens asking help, and offering the Athenians the towns commanding the pass of Thermopylae. This offer pleased the Athenians greatly; and they ordered Proxenus to take possession of the three towns, and voted to call out the citizen soldiers up to the age of thirty and to man fifty triremes. But Proxenus now found men in authority at Thermopylae who repudiated the message sent to Athens; he was dismissed with insult, and the fleet and army were never sent. Still Athens felt that the fate of Greece depended on having Thermopylae held secure against any invasion from the North. Notwithstanding the sacrilegious plundering of Delphi, which no one ventured to approve openly, Athens had the strongest political reasons, which were easily reinforced by moral motives, for protecting the Phocians at Thermopylae, especially against Philip<sup>2</sup>. There was a formal alliance between Athens and Phocis, and it was naturally assumed at Athens (except by Philip's friends) that peace with Philip would protect the Phocians against all danger from him. It was probably in this spirit that Athens received the friendly propositions which Aristodemus brought from Philip. Soon after the cordial reception of Aristodemus (§ 13), Philocrates proposed a decree for sending ten ambassadors to Philip, to discuss terms of peace and to ask him to send ambassadors to Athens with full powers to negotiate<sup>3</sup>. The following were sent: Philocrates (the mover), Demosthenes, Aeschines, Ctesiphon (the former envoy to Philip), Phrynon, Iatrocles, Aristodemus, Nausicles, Cimon, Dercylus. To these Aglaocreon of Tenedos was afterwards added by the Assembly as a representative of the allies. The embassy was appointed and sent in February, 346 B.C.

19. We depend chiefly on Aeschines for the account of the first embassy<sup>4</sup>. The envoys went by land to Oreus, in the north of Euboea, and thence by sea to Halus, on the south side of the Gulf of Pagasae,

<sup>1</sup> Dem. XIX. 230.

<sup>3</sup> Aesch. II. 18, III. 63.

<sup>2</sup> Dem. Cor. 18<sup>2-4</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> See Aesch. II. 20—43.

a town claimed by Athens as an ally. Parmenio, Philip's general, was then besieging Halus, which Philip wanted to give to his friends the Pharsalians. The embassy passed through the Macedonian camp to Pagasae, Larissa, and Pella. On arriving at Pella the envoys were courteously received by Philip at a formal interview, in which they addressed the king in the order of their ages, Demosthenes speaking last, directly after Aeschines. Aeschines devotes the greater part of his story to his own eloquent argument, in which (as he says) he made a powerful appeal to Philip in defence of the right of Athens to Amphipolis. He spoke of the appointment of Iphicrates as the Athenian commander there, and reminded Philip of the occasion when his mother, Eurydice, placed him with his brother Perdikkas (both children) on the knees of Iphicrates, and begged the general to treat her two boys with brotherly affection, as their father Amyntas had adopted him as a son.

20. Aeschines then describes the appearance of Demosthenes before Philip. He was (we are told) so embarrassed that he could hardly utter a word; and after a few vain attempts to speak he became silent. Philip encouraged him and tried to relieve his embarrassment, but all in vain. He remained speechless, and the herald conducted the embassy from the royal presence. This account is probably much exaggerated; but it is hardly possible that the whole story is an invention. Grote is probably right in thinking that Demosthenes was taken with a kind of "stage fright" when he suddenly found himself formally addressing the king whom he had so often denounced, and when he was probably insulted by the officers of Philip who were in attendance, so that he may well have been physically unable to speak<sup>1</sup>. Philip soon recalled the embassy, and replied to their arguments, ending his address with the usual assurances of friendship. Most of the envoys were struck by the dignity, wit, and gracious manners of Philip, and by his skill in replying to what had just been said to him<sup>2</sup>.

21. The returning envoys arrived in Athens about the first of Elaphebolion (March 28) 346 B.C. They made their regular reports to the Senate and the Assembly; and they received the regular complimentary votes and the invitation to dinner in the Prytaneum.

<sup>1</sup> Grote xl. 530.

<sup>2</sup> Aesch. ii. 41—43: cf. 51, 52.

They brought home a letter from Philip, expressing great friendship and his hope of both peace and alliance. There can be no doubt that Demosthenes returned fully persuaded that *some* peace should be made as soon as possible, to settle the important questions which the war kept open. Down to this time—in fact, until the nineteenth of Elaphebolion—he had no suspicion of the loyalty and political honesty of Aeschines<sup>1</sup>. There can be little doubt that Philocrates was already secured for Philip's interest; and it was not long before Aeschines (perhaps honestly at first) was acting with him to gain Philip's ends.

22. Immediately after the return of the embassy Demosthenes proposed two decrees in the Senate to secure peace at the earliest moment. The Great Dionysiac festival was approaching, during which all public business would be suspended. These decrees enacted that safe-conduct should be granted to Philip's envoys and herald, who were now on their way to Athens, and that the Prytanes should call a special meeting of the Assembly, to be held on the eighth of Elaphebolion (April 5) if Philip's embassy should then have arrived, to discuss terms of peace. The envoys came too late for this day; but after their arrival Demosthenes proposed another decree appointing the eighteenth and nineteenth of Elaphebolion (April 15 and 16), after the Dionysia, for two meetings, in which both peace and alliance with Philip should be considered. The two meetings were held on the appointed days, and the Macedonian envoys, Antipater, Parmenio, and probably Eurylochus, were present during a part of the sessions. Demosthenes, as senator, showed the distinguished envoys all proper courtesies, and proposed decrees to admit them to the Assembly and to make them guests of honour at the Dionysia. He personally escorted them to the theatre, where curtains had been provided to shield them from the early morning air and cushions to cover the stone seats. And when they departed for home he hired three yoke of mules for them and escorted them to Thebes.

23. One of the strangest charges made by Aeschines against

<sup>1</sup> Dem. XIX. 13: καὶ μέχρι τοῦ δεῦρ' ἐπανελθεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης πρεσβείας ἐμὲ...διεφθαρμένος καὶ πεπρακὼς ἐαυτὸν ἐλάνθανεν. The remainder of XIX. 12—16 shows his opinion after his eyes were opened.

Demosthenes is that of corrupt collusion with Philocrates in making the peace. [Philocrates went into exile as a convicted criminal early in 343 B.C., fleeing from Athens to escape the sentence of death which was soon passed upon him for treachery and bribery in making the peace which is a reproach to his name.] Aeschines can henceforth think of no graver charge than this, with which he introduces his accusation of Demosthenes with regard to the peace: "Now I return to the peace which you and Philocrates proposed." Can it be believed that this is the same Aeschines who fifteen years before had described this same peace as "the peace made by me and Philocrates"?<sup>1</sup> His chief argument for the collusion is that Demosthenes caused the peace to be made in such unseemly haste that the Greek states which had been invited by Athens to an Hellenic council for mutual defence could not be represented in the negotiations. He constantly alludes to "the still absent embassies, which you sent to the Greeks."

24. These are the "roving envoys," which had been sent out on the motion of Eubulus, more than a year before, to unite the Greeks in a common cause against Philip. (See § 15.) Aeschines himself says that, when Philip's envoys came to Athens, the Athenian envoys were still absent, "summoning the Greeks against Philip<sup>2</sup>." On what possible ground now could Aeschines, who was one of the embassy which invited Philip's envoys to Athens to negotiate a peace, demand after their arrival that all negotiations should be suspended until the return of envoys who had been absent more than a year stirring up hostility against Philip, and had shown no signs of returning or reporting? These "absent envoys" were pure inventions. Aeschines declares positively that not one of them had returned when the peace was made, and Demosthenes that there was no embassy then out<sup>3</sup>. This contradiction can be reconciled only by the explanation given by Demosthenes, that all the Greeks had long ago been tried and found wanting—in fact, that Athens could find no states ready to join her in resisting Philip. Aeschines expressed the same opinion in

<sup>1</sup> Compare Aesch. III. 57 with I. 174. See the reply in Dem. Cor. 21.

<sup>2</sup> Aesch. III. 65, 68.

<sup>3</sup> Aesch. II. 58, 59; Dem. Cor. 23<sup>6</sup>7. See note on the last passage, and the whole of Cor. 20 and 24.

343 B.C.<sup>1</sup> It is most probable that no reports had been made simply because there were no favourable responses to report, and that no delay of the peace would have changed the result.

25. We have the most contradictory accounts from the two orators of the proceedings in the two meetings of the Assembly. In the first, on the eighteenth of Elaphebolion, the Macedonian envoys appeared and stated plainly and firmly the terms on which Philip would make peace. These were, in general, *ἐκατέρους ἃ ἔχουσιν ἔχειν, uti possidentis*; that is, no questions were to be raised as to Philip's right to any of the places which he had taken from Athens and still held, of course including Amphipolis. It was also stated that Philip would not recognize as allies of Athens either the Halians or the Phocians. In conformity with these announcements, Philocrates proposed a formal decree, establishing peace and alliance between Philip and his allies and Athens and her allies, excepting the Halians and Phocians<sup>2</sup>. It is evident that the last clause was heard by most of the Athenians with surprise and alarm. It signified plainly that Philip would do, in spite of the peace, the very thing which it was supposed the peace would prevent, that is, pass Thermopylae and overwhelm the Phocians with the help of the Thebans, while Athens would have her hands tied by the peace. Demosthenes now had his eyes thoroughly opened. Though he had favoured and even urged peace, as preferable to disastrous war, he was no advocate of "peace at any price," and he now saw that the price was to be too high<sup>3</sup>. He strongly opposed the motion of Philocrates, and advocated "the resolution of the allies," which was, according to Aeschines, favoured by himself and all the other speakers in the first Assembly<sup>4</sup>. From Aeschines, who appears to be not yet in the complete confidence of Philocrates and the Macedonian envoys, we have a final burst of exalted patriotism. As Demosthenes reports him, he declared that, though he thought a peace should be made, he would never advise Athens to make the peace proposed by Philocrates so long as a single Athenian was left alive<sup>5</sup>. Finally, on the motion of Demosthenes, the

<sup>1</sup> Aesch. II. 79.

<sup>2</sup> Dem. XIX. 159 and 321 (quoted § 27, note 1), with 278.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 96.

<sup>4</sup> Aesch. III. 71.

<sup>5</sup> Dem. XIX. 13—16.

Assembly rejected the proposition of Philocrates and adopted what was called the resolution of the allies, whose regular synod (συνεδριον) was then in session at Athens. The Macedonian envoys were then recalled and informed of this action<sup>1</sup>.

26. It is somewhat uncertain what is here meant by "the resolution of the allies" (τὸ τῶν συμμάχων δόγμα). We have two accounts of this from Aeschines<sup>2</sup>. In one he mentions only a clause recommending a postponement of the discussion about peace until the return of the "absent envoys": but the fact that the discussion was going on by general consent makes it impossible that this clause was advocated by "all the speakers in the former Assembly." In the other he mentions a recommendation that only peace, and not alliance, should be discussed: but this he deduces from the entire omission of the word "alliance" in the resolution, and it is obvious that neither Demosthenes nor all the other speakers could have opposed alliance<sup>3</sup>. He there mentions also the proposed provision that three months should be allowed after the making of the peace, in which any Greek state might claim its advantages and be recorded on the same column with Athens and her allies<sup>4</sup>. This is the only part of the resolution which had any significance whatever on that day; and it must be this, *and this alone*, which was adopted by the Assembly. This provision, if it were granted by Philip, would ensure the safety of the Phocians; for they could then have claimed the protection of the peace as Greeks, without being recognized by Philip as allies of Athens. This important provision, supported, as it appears, by the authority of the synod of allies, was advocated by Demosthenes, as the only substitute for the fatal proposition of Philocrates which was at all likely to be accepted by the Assembly. Aeschines says that the general opinion, when the first Assembly adjourned, was that there would be peace, but that alliance would be made (if at all) later, in conjunction with all the Greeks.

27. The following night brought about a great and sudden change in the whole situation. Philocrates had been too bold in pressing on

<sup>1</sup> Dem. XIX. 144.

<sup>2</sup> Aesch. II. 60 and III. 69, 70, 71.

<sup>3</sup> Aesch. III. 68, 71.

<sup>4</sup> Aesch. III. 70: ἐξεῖναι τῷ βουλευμένῳ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐν τρισὶ μηνσὶ εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν στήλην ἀναγεγράφθαι μετ' Ἀθηναίων καὶ μετέχειν τῶν ὀρκῶν καὶ τῶν συνθηκῶν.

the Assembly the plan of the Macedonian envoys. The sudden disclosure of Philip's designs against the Phocians had caused so great excitement and opposition, that it was hopeless to attempt to pass the original excluding clause. At the same time it was seen to be fatal to all Philip's plans to allow the proposition of the allies to be finally adopted. Philocrates therefore amended his decree during the night, probably in consultation with Antipater and Parmenio. He brought it before the Assembly the next day without the excluding clause, reading simply "the Athenians and their allies." This change, which after the statements of the previous day meant nothing, appears to have allayed the excitement in great measure, and the decree in this form was finally passed without much opposition. This could not have been effected until the public apprehensions about the Phocians had been quieted by diplomatic promises, like those which were so effectual after the return of the second embassy a few months later<sup>1</sup>. Antipater and Parmenio simply maintained their ground, that Philip could not admit the Phocians as parties to the peace; but their friends in the Assembly (Philocrates and perhaps Aeschines) assured the people "on authority" that, though Philip then could not offend the Thebans and Thessalians by publicly recognizing the Phocians, he would still, when the peace gave him greater freedom of action, do all that Athens could ask of him<sup>1</sup>.

28. It is impossible to determine precisely what was said or done by Aeschines and Demosthenes in the second meeting of the Assembly, in which the peace was actually voted. Nowhere are our two witnesses more hopelessly at odds. Demosthenes says that Aeschines, after his eloquent speech the day before, protesting

<sup>1</sup> Dem. XIX. 159: τήν τε γὰρ εἰρήνην οὐχὶ δυνήθεντων ὥς ἐπεχειρήσαν οὗτοι, πλὴν Ἀλέων καὶ Φωκέων, γράψαι, ἀλλ' ἀναγκασθέντος ὑφ' ὑμῶν τοῦ Φιλοκράτους ταῦτα μὲν ἀπαλεῖψαι, γράψαι δ' ἀντικρὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίων συμμάχους. See also 321: ἐντεῦθεν οἱ μὲν παρ' ἐκείνου πρέσβεις προὔλεγον ὑμῖν διὰ Φωκέας οὐ προσδέχεται Φίλιππος συμμάχους· οὗτοι δ' ἐκδεχόμενοι τοιαύτ' ἐδημηγόρουν, ὥς φανερώς μὲν οὐχὶ καλῶς ἔχει τῷ Φιλίππῳ προσδέσθαι τοὺς Φωκέας συμμάχους διὰ τοὺς Θηβαίους καὶ τοὺς Θετταλοὺς, ἀν δὲ γένηται τῶν πραγμάτων κύριος καὶ τῆς εἰρήνης τύχη, ἅπερ ἂν συνθέσθαι νῦν ἀξιῶσαιμεν αὐτὸν, ταῦτα ποιήσει τότε. See further 220: μέλζονα ἢ κατ' Ἀμφίπολιν εὐ ποιήσειεν ὑμᾶς ἐὰν τύχη τῆς εἰρήνης, Εὐβοίαν Ὠρωπὸν ἀποδώσειν, κ.τ.λ.

vehemently against the motion of Philocrates, now told the people not to remember their ancestors nor to listen to stories of ancient sea-fights and trophies, but to enact that they would not help any who had not previously helped Athens (meaning the Phocians)<sup>1</sup>. Instead of simply denying that he had made such a speech and proving his denial by witnesses, Aeschines undertakes to show that he could not have spoken at all on the second day because by the decree of Demosthenes no speeches were to be made on that day<sup>2</sup>. But this argument (in 343 B.C.) is answered by his own account thirteen years later of a speech made by Demosthenes in that very meeting. He quotes what he calls a "disagreeable metaphor" then used by Demosthenes, that we must not *wrench off* (*ἀπορῥῆξαι*) alliance from peace<sup>3</sup>.

Though Aeschines denies so stoutly that no one could have spoken in the second meeting, he further recounts a speech of his own, which must have been the one to which Demosthenes alludes, in which he says he advised the people to remember the glorious deeds of their ancestors, but to forget their mistakes, like the Sicilian expedition and the delay in ending the Peloponnesian war<sup>4</sup>. But he maintains that this speech was made in the first meeting. When we consider that our testimony comes from the two opposing orators at the trial of Aeschines, and make all possible allowance for exaggeration and misrepresentation, we must admit that Aeschines reports his speech more fairly than Demosthenes, but we must decide that it was delivered on the second day, as Demosthenes declares. Eubulus finally told the people plainly that they must either accept the terms proposed by Philocrates, or man their fleet and levy a war tax<sup>5</sup>. We have the statement of Demosthenes that at the second meeting he opposed Philocrates (whom the people at first refused to hear) and tried to amend his proposition for the peace, still advocating the resolution of the allies<sup>6</sup>. He was probably made more hopeful by the

<sup>1</sup> Dem. XIX. 16.

<sup>2</sup> Aesch. II. 63—66.

<sup>3</sup> Aesch. III. 71, 72.

<sup>4</sup> See Aesch. II. 74—77, where the substance of this speech is given.

<sup>5</sup> Dem. XIX. 291.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. 15: ἐμοῦ τῷ τῶν συμμάχων συνηγοροῦντος δόγματι καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ὅπως ἴσῃ καὶ δίκαια γένηται πράττοντος. Cf. 292.

refusal of the people to exclude the Phocians by name, which left Athens free to act; and he perhaps trusted in the power of Athens to stop Philip again at Thermopylae if he should attempt to force the pass after the ratification of the peace<sup>1</sup>. There is no reason to doubt that he did his best, fighting almost single-handed in a desperate strait.

The Peace of Philocrates, thus voted by the Athenian Assembly on the nineteenth of Elaphebolion (April 16), 346 B.C., ended the Amphipolitan War, which was begun in 357. A few weeks later, the aged Isocrates sent to Philip his address called *Φίλιππος*, in which he expressed his joy at the peace and his hope of much good to result from Philip's leadership.

29. A few days after the peace was voted, the same ambassadors were appointed to return to Macedonia and receive the oaths of Philip and his allies to the peace and alliance. As Aeschines gives us our chief account of the first embassy, so Demosthenes tells the story of the second<sup>2</sup>. Demosthenes urged his colleagues to set out with all speed to administer the oaths to Philip, knowing well that every day might be of the greatest importance to Athens. Philip was all this time vigorously pressing his conquests in Thrace, after Athens had tied her hands by making the peace. As entreaties availed nothing, Demosthenes procured (3rd of Munychion, April 29) a decree of the Senate (which the people had empowered to act until the next Assembly), directing the embassy to depart at once, and ordering Proxenus, who still kept his fleet north of Euboea, to convey them to Philip, wherever he might be. In defiance of this vote, the embassy first waited a long time at Oreus; and then, instead of sailing with Proxenus, travelled by a circuitous land route to Pella, where they arrived twenty-three days after leaving Athens. There they waited

<sup>1</sup> The mixed feelings of Demosthenes appear in XIX. 150: *μέχρι τούτου γε οὐδὲν ἀνῆκεστον ἦν τῶν πεπραγμένων, ἀλλ' αἰσχρὰ μὲν ἡ εἰρήνη καὶ ἀναξία τῆς πόλεως, ἀντὶ δὲ τούτων δὴ τὰ θαυμάσια ἀγαθὰ ἡμῖν ἐμελλεν ἔσσεσθαι.*

<sup>2</sup> We have in Dem. XIX. a clear and full account of the second embassy and its results, generally in the following order: 150—173, 17—66; and in Cor. 25—27, 30—36, a brief but graphic résumé of the same events, somewhat modified by the lapse of thirteen years. Though Aeschines denies some of the details, he says nothing which breaks the force of the clear and straightforward statements of Demosthenes.

twenty-seven days for Philip's return from his conquests in Thrace<sup>1</sup>. In the time thus gained he had captured several Thracian towns.

30. The Athenians found at Pella envoys from Thebes, Thessaly, Sparta, and other Greek states, awaiting Philip's return. There were also envoys from Phocis, anxiously waiting to learn their fate. Philip received the Athenians in the presence of the other envoys, and surrounded by his army, which was ready for his march to Thermopylae. While the envoys were at Pella, Philip sent them large presents of gold, of which Demosthenes refused to accept his share<sup>2</sup>. He devoted much of his time to procuring the release of the Athenian captives who were still in Philip's hands. He lent several of these the money needed for their ransom, which he later refused to receive back when Philip released the other prisoners without ransom<sup>3</sup>.

31. When Philip took his oath to the peace, the majority of the embassy allowed him formally to exclude the Phocians, the Halians, and Cersobleptes from the recognized allies of Athens<sup>4</sup>. Demosthenes was generally outvoted in the deliberations of the embassy. They refused by vote to send to Athens a letter written by him, and sent one of their own with a different account of their doings<sup>5</sup>. Demosthenes hired a vessel to take him home alone; but Philip forbade him to depart<sup>6</sup>. In this state of things we can easily believe what Aeschines says, that no one would willingly mess with Demosthenes or lodge at the same inn with him<sup>7</sup>.

32. After Philip had sworn to the peace, the embassy had no further pretext for wasting time at Pella. Then followed a most disgraceful and humiliating spectacle. Philip marched forth from his capital with his army for the invasion of Greece, the result of which—whether he favoured the Thebans or the Phocians—must be the humiliation of a proud people; and in his train followed meekly (with one exception) an Athenian embassy which had basely betrayed the interests of Athens. There followed also a band of Phocian suppliants, who must now have known that their race was doomed. When they

<sup>1</sup> Dem. XIX. 154, 155: see note on Cor. § 30<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Dem. XIX. 166—168.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 44, 174, 278.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. 51, 323.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 169, 170.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. 174.

<sup>7</sup> Aesch. II. 97.

arrived at Pherae, the long-neglected duty of administering the oath to Philip's allies—or rather to those whom Philip saw fit to summon as their representatives—was performed in a tavern, “in a manner which was disgraceful and unworthy of Athens,” as Demosthenes adds<sup>1</sup>.

33. The embassy now returned to Athens without more delay, arriving on the thirteenth of Sciophorion (July 7), after an absence of about ten weeks. When they arrived, Philip was already at Thermopylae, negotiating with the Phocians for a peaceable surrender of the pass<sup>2</sup>. This was just what Philip had planned. The Athenians had now little time to consider whether they should send a fleet to defend Thermopylae, and he trusted to the quieting reports of his friends on the embassy to prevent any hostile action. The scheme worked perfectly. A temporary obstruction was caused by the report of Demosthenes to the Senate. There he told the plain truth, that Philip was at the gates of Hellas, ready to attack the Phocians; and he urged that an expedition should even then be sent to Thermopylae with the fifty triremes which were kept ready for such an emergency. The Senate believed Demosthenes, and passed a vote expressing their approval of his conduct. They insulted the embassy in an unprecedented manner, by omitting the customary vote of thanks and the invitation to dine in the Prytaneum<sup>3</sup>.

34. But Philocrates and Aeschines had planned their scheme too artfully to be thus thwarted; and in the Assembly of the sixteenth of Sciophorion, probably held the day after the meeting of the Senate, all was changed. Here Demosthenes found a body of his enemies, who would not permit him to be heard or the vote of the Senate to be read<sup>4</sup>. Aeschines at once took the platform, and easily carried the meeting with him by disclosing the private information about Philip's real plans which (he said) Philip had confided to him at Pella. He assured the people that, if they would stay at home quietly two or three days, they would hear that Philip was besieging Thebes, and compelling the Thebans (not the Phocians) to pay for the treasure

<sup>1</sup> Dem. XIX. 158.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 58.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 18, 31, 32; and 322, τὴν δὲ βοήθειαν εἰδει κωλύσαι τὴν εἰς τὰς Πύλας, ἐφ' ἣν αἱ πενήκοντα τριήρεις ὁμῶς ἐφώρμουν. See Cor. 327-9.

<sup>4</sup> XIX. 23, 35.

stolen from Delphi. He repeated the advice to this effect which (he said) he had given to Philip, for which a price had been set on his head at Thebes. He also implied that Euboea was to be given to Athens as a recompense for Amphipolis, and hinted obscurely at a restitution of Oropus to Athens<sup>1</sup>. Then Philip's letter was read, full of general friendliness, but containing absolutely nothing about the Phocians and no promises of any kind.

35. In this temper the Assembly was ready to vote almost anything which would make it easy for Philip to carry out his beneficent plan. A decree was passed, on the motion of Philocrates, publicly thanking Philip for his friendly promises, extending the peace and alliance to posterity, and enacting that, if the Phocians still refused to surrender the temple "to the Amphictyons," the Athenians would compel them to do so by force<sup>2</sup>. They then appointed ten ambassadors, chiefly members of the previous embassies, to report these proceedings to Philip at Thermopylae. Demosthenes at once refused to go on this embassy. Aeschines made no objection at the time; but afterwards, when it was thought that his presence in Athens would be important at the coming crisis, he excused himself on the ground of illness, and his brother went in his place<sup>3</sup>.

Soon afterwards came two letters from Philip, inviting the Athenians to send a force to join him at Thermopylae<sup>4</sup>. As Demosthenes shows, these were really sent to prevent them from marching out, as Philip thought this cordial invitation would quiet their alarm, and so be the surest means of keeping them at home. We hear of no appeals from Aeschines or his friends urging the acceptance of the invitation. Indeed, public opinion at Athens was changing, so that perhaps there was danger of the invitation being accepted in a different spirit.

<sup>1</sup> Dem. XIX. 19—22, 35, 74, 220, 324—327; Cor. 35; VI. 30; cf. Aesch. II. 136.

<sup>2</sup> Dem. XIX. 48—50: here it is said of the so-called Amphictyons, *πολεῖς*; οὐ γὰρ ἦσαν αὐτόθι πλὴν Θηβαῖοι καὶ Θετταλοί.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 121—124.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 51, 52: ἐπιστολάς δύο καλοῦσας ὑμᾶς, οὐχ ἵν' ἐξέλθοιτε. See Aesch. II. 137: ὁμῶν δὲ οὐκ ἔπεμψεν ἐπιστολήν ὁ Φίλιππος ἐξιέναι πάσῃ τῇ δυνάμει βοηθήσοντας τοῖς δικαίοις; *to help the cause of justice!*

36. There were Phocian envoys at Athens on the return of the embassy, and they remained until after the meeting of the Assembly. The action then taken showed them that they had nothing to hope from Athens, and they returned home with this unwelcome news. With the help of Athens by land and sea, Phalaecus and his army of 10,000 infantry and 1000 cavalry might still have held Thermopylae against Philip. But without help this was impossible<sup>1</sup>. The Lacedaemonians had already deserted them, and now nothing was left but to surrender on the best terms which could be made. Demosthenes declares that the action of the Assembly on the 16th was the direct cause of the surrender of the Phocians on the 23rd<sup>2</sup>.

37. The third Athenian embassy set out for Thermopylae about the 21st of Sciophorion (July 15). When they came to Chalcis, they heard that the Phocians had surrendered, while Philip had openly declared himself for the Thebans, and all the hopes of Athens were at an end. As the envoys had no instructions to meet this emergency, they returned to Athens at once. One of them, Dercylus, came directly into a meeting of the Assembly in the Piraeus (on the 27th) and reported his alarming news from Thermopylae<sup>3</sup>. The people were struck with panic at the tidings, and voted, on the motion of Callisthenes, to remove the women and children into protected places, to put the Piraeus and the forts in a state of defence, and to hold the coming Heraclea, usually held in the country, within the city walls<sup>4</sup>. Such a panic had not been known in Athens since the last days of the Peloponnesian War. They also voted to send to Philip the same embassy which had returned from Chalcis, with instructions to watch the proceedings of the Amphictyonic Council, which Philip was expected to summon at once<sup>5</sup>. The Athenians were not only in great alarm, but in absolute uncertainty about Philip's next step. He might even join the Thebans in a march upon Athens; and the road was

<sup>1</sup> Dem. XIX. 58; 123.

<sup>2</sup> See the calculation in Dem. XIX. 58, 59. Allowing four days for the news of the 16th to reach the Phocians and three days more for making terms, he puts the surrender on the 23rd (July 17). Four days later the news came to the Assembly in the Piraeus.

<sup>3</sup> Dem. XIX. 60, 125.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 86, Cor. 36; Aesch. III. 80.

<sup>5</sup> Aesch. II. 94, 95.

open. Even Aeschines admits the bitter disappointment at Athens and the bitter feeling against the ambassadors.

Soon after the surrender of the Phocians, Philip addressed a diplomatic letter to the Athenians, deprecating their indignation at his unexpected course, and trying to conciliate them by assurances of his continued friendship.

38. The embassy soon departed on its new mission by way of Thebes. Aeschines had now no fear of the Thebans or of the price they had set upon his head. They arrived at Philip's camp just in time for the festivities with which he and the Thebans were celebrating their triumph over the sacrilegious Phocians; and they appear to have had no scruples against joining in the celebration<sup>1</sup>. Philip had entered Phocis as the champion of Apollo, whose violated temple he was to restore to the Amphictyonic Council. He therefore lost no time in calling a meeting of this venerable body, or rather what he chose to call by this distinguished name<sup>2</sup>. The Council voted to expel the Phocians, and to give their two votes to Philip<sup>3</sup>. The Phocian towns, except Abae with its ancient temple of Apollo, twenty in number, were to be destroyed, and the people to be divided into villages of not more than fifty houses; their horses were to be sold for the benefit of the temple, and their arms thrown down precipices; and they were to pay sixty talents yearly to the temple until the stolen treasure should be made good<sup>4</sup>. We have records of large payments made by the Phocians on this account from 344 to 337 B.C.<sup>5</sup> Any

<sup>1</sup> Dem. XIX. 128, 130, Cor. 287. See the lame defence of Aeschines, II. 162, 163.

<sup>2</sup> Demosthenes (V. 14) calls this assembly *τοὺς συνεληλυθότας τούτους καὶ φάσκοντας Ἀμφικτύονας νῦν εἶναι*. See XIX. 50: *οὐδενὸς δ' ἄλλου παρόντος τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων πλην Θετταλῶν καὶ Θηβαίων*. Cf. XIX. 327.

<sup>3</sup> A newly found inscription at Delphi records a meeting of the board of *ναοποιοί*, Temple-builders, in 346—345, *ἐπεὶ ἂ εἰρήνη ἐγένετο*, at which Thessalians, Thebans, Athenians, Spartans, and a Delphian were present, but no Phocians. In their place stands the ominous entry, *Φίλιππος Μακεδών, Τιμανορίδας Μακεδών*.

<sup>4</sup> Diod. XVI. 60; Paus. X. 3, 3; Dem. XIX. 81, 141, Cor. 36, 42, IX. 19, 26. Cf. Aesch. II. 9, III. 80.

<sup>5</sup> The French have found an interesting inscription at Delphi recording several of these payments made by the Phocians, published by Bourguet in

Phocian who was personally guilty of plundering the temple was declared accursed and outlawed. This terrible sentence was executed with more than strict exactness, with the Thebans for executioners. When Demosthenes went to Delphi more than two years later, he witnessed the pitiable condition of Phocis and its wretched people, with walls and houses destroyed, and nobody to be seen except old women and little children and miserable old men<sup>1</sup>. A harder fate still befell Orchomenus and Coronea for their adherence to the Phocians. Their walls were razed and the inhabitants sold into slavery. Boeotia, with a substantial piece of Phocis<sup>2</sup>, was then brought under the dominion of Thebes. Sparta, for assisting the Phocians, was excluded from the Delphic temple. The *προμαντεία*, precedence in consulting the oracle, which the Phocians had granted to Athens in the time of Pericles for her help in the short Sacred War of 448 B.C., was taken from her and given to Philip<sup>3</sup>. Still, it was the decided policy of Philip to have no open breach with Athens at this time.

39. The Pythian games were celebrated by Philip at Delphi at their regular time, in September 346 B.C., with unusual splendour<sup>4</sup>. No delegates were present from either Athens or Sparta. For 240 years Athens had sent her deputation to these games with great pomp and ceremony over the Sacred Way, which Apollo had once trodden on his progress from Delos to Delphi; and her absence now was an historic event. Thus was Philip formally installed in his long-coveted position as a power in Greece.

So ended the disastrous Sacred War, after a duration of more than ten years, with the exaltation of Philip and the humiliation of Athens, though neither was a party to the war or was even interested in it when it began.

40. Philip now determined to secure from Athens a formal recognition of his new position as an Amphictyonic power. He therefore sent thither a deputation to ask for a confirmation of his election to the Council<sup>5</sup>. The conspicuous absence of Athens from both Council

the Bull. de Corresp. Hellén. (Athens), 1897, pp. 321—344. (See American Journal of Archaeology, 1899, p. 306.)

<sup>1</sup> Dem. XIX. 64, 66, 325.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 112, 127.

<sup>3</sup> Plut. Per. 21; Dem. IX. 32.

<sup>4</sup> Diod. XVI. 60.

<sup>5</sup> Dem. XIX. 111—113.

and games embarrassed and annoyed Philip greatly. Athens was in a delicate position. It would have been simple madness, in her isolation and humiliation, to defy him by a downright refusal. But the people were in no mood to assent to what they deemed a disgrace to Greece and an insult to themselves. When Aeschines came forward alone to urge compliance, he was hooted and could get no hearing. Demosthenes was perhaps the only man in Athens who could persuade the Assembly to take the humiliating course which prudence now made necessary. This he did in his speech *On the Peace* (v.), in which, while he makes no attempt to conceal the false position in which Athens had ignorantly allowed herself to be placed, he yet advises her not court further calamity by a vain resistance to an accomplished fact<sup>1</sup>.

#### IV. SIX YEARS OF NOMINAL PEACE.

346—340 B.C.

41. The peace of Philocrates lasted, at least in name, until the formal renewal of the war with Philip in 340 B.C. But all this time Philip was busy in extending his power, especially to the detriment of Athens. He interfered in the disputes of Sparta with Argos, Messene, and Megalopolis, sending help to the latter. Athens, on the motion of Demosthenes, voted to send envoys to Peloponnesus to counteract this dangerous influence, and of these Demosthenes was chief. In the *Second Philippic* he repeats parts of his speech to the Messenians, in which he warned them of the fate of Olynthus and exhorted them to repel Philip's friendly advances<sup>2</sup>. But Philip's promises were more powerful than the eloquence of Demosthenes, and we soon find Argos and Messene (instigated by Philip) sending envoys to Athens, complaining that she supported Sparta in preventing them from gaining their freedom. With these came envoys from Philip, complaining that Athens had charged their master with breaking his promises.

42. In the Assembly which discussed the reply to be given to these embassies (late in 344 B.C.), Demosthenes delivered his *Second Philippic*. This gives a statesmanlike review of Philip's conduct towards Athens since the peace, showing that he had been constantly aggressive

<sup>1</sup> See the speech *On the Peace*.

<sup>2</sup> VI. 9, 13, 15, 20—25.

and deceitful, while Athens had been kept quiet by his partisans, who assured her of his friendly intentions. He proposed a definite answer to the embassies, of which we can judge only by the firm character of the speech itself. We hear of no positive results of this mission, but we hear no more of the disputes in Peloponnesus which caused it. Still, Philip continued to acquire influence there, and the governments leaned on him for support and became more and more subservient to his wishes.

43. In the same year there occurred the summary arrest and condemnation of Antiphon, a disfranchised citizen, who offered his services to Philip to burn the dockyards at the Piraeus. He was arrested by the authority of Demosthenes, and brought before the Assembly; but was released on the protest of Aeschines. He was again arrested by the intervention of the Areopagus, brought to trial and condemned to the rack and to death<sup>1</sup>.

Not much later occurred an important trial before the Amphictyonic Council, in which the ancient right of Athens to control the temple of Delos was contested by the Delians. The Athenians chose Aeschines as their counsel in this case; but the Areopagus, to which the people had by special vote given the right to revise the election, rejected him and chose Hyperides in his place. The election was made in the most formal and solemn manner, each senator taking his ballot from the altar<sup>2</sup>. At the trial Hyperides delivered his famous Delian oration, in which he defended the cause of Athens so eloquently that her rights in the Delian temple remained undisturbed.

44. A little later (probably before midsummer in 343 B.C.), Philip sent Python of Byzantium to Athens, to tell the old story of his unalterable friendship and of his grief on hearing the calumnies which his enemies reported in the Assembly and the Athenians believed. He assured the people that he was ready to revise the peace if there was anything amiss in it, and begged them not to believe the orators who misrepresented him and his intentions. Python was an eloquent orator, a pupil of Isocrates, and his statement of Philip's grievances moved the Assembly greatly. He was accompanied by envoys from all Philip's allies, and he was supported by Aeschines. But his "tide of eloquence" was stemmed by Demosthenes, who replied to Philip's complaints so

<sup>1</sup> Cor. 132, 133, with notes.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 134, 135.

effectively that the feeling of the Assembly was soon turned against Python<sup>1</sup>. He was followed by Hegesippus, another patriotic Athenian, who made two propositions for revising the peace. He proposed (1) that the clause which provided that *each should keep what they had*, ἐκατέρους ἔχειν ἢ ἔχουσιν, *uti possidetis*, should be changed to *each should have their own* (ἐκατέρους ἔχειν τὰ ἑαυτῶν); (2) that the freedom of all Greek states not included in the treaty should be recognized by both parties to the peace, who should agree to defend them if they were attacked. A decree was passed with these two provisions; and Hegesippus was sent with other envoys to Philip to ask his approval of these terms, and further to ask for the return to Athens of the island Halonnesus, which Philip then held, and for the surrender of the towns in Thrace (Serrhium, Doriscus, etc.) which he had taken after the peace was made. This embassy was rudely received by Philip, who ignored all his promises about a revision of the peace, and it returned to Athens with nothing accomplished.

45. Eight or nine months later (early in 342 B.C.) Philip sent a letter to the Athenians, in which he once more deplored the misrepresentations of hostile orators and replied to some of the demands of Athens. We have the speech of Hegesippus in the Assembly, in which Philip's letter is discussed<sup>2</sup>. Philip (1) offered to *give* Halonnesus to Athens if she would accept it as a gift from him. He (2) proposed a treaty (σύμβολα) with Athens to provide for the trial of lawsuits between Macedonians and Athenians, reserving to himself the final ratification of the treaty. He (3) agreed to recognize and defend the freedom of Greeks who were not parties to the peace. He (4) offered to submit to arbitration all questions about the captured towns, with that about Halonnesus. He further denied that he had broken any promises.

Hegesippus in reply objects to receiving Halonnesus as a gift, while the right of Athens to the island is denied. He treats the proposed σύμβολα as a mere trick of Philip, and spurns his offer of arbitration.

<sup>1</sup> Aesch. II. 125; Dem. Cor. 136.

<sup>2</sup> This (VII. in editions of Demosthenes) is now universally recognized as a speech of Hegesippus. It professes to be made by the mover of the two proposals sent to Philip, who was also one of the embassy. This speech is the authority for many of the details of §§ 44 and 45.

Demosthenes also discussed Philip's letter in the same spirit<sup>1</sup>. So far as we know, no result followed these negotiations.

In the late summer or autumn of 343 B.C. Aeschines was brought to trial on the charge of *παράπρεσβεία* for his misconduct on the second embassy to Philip in 346. The speech of Demosthenes as accuser (XIX.) and that of Aeschines as defendant (II.) were delivered at the trial; and Aeschines, who was defended by Eubulus, was acquitted by a small vote. (See large edition, Essay IV.)

46. At about this time Philip renewed his intrigues in Euboea. The formal peace which Athens had made with the towns of Euboea in 348 B.C. recognized the independence of the island<sup>2</sup>. Philip saw more and more plainly the importance of Euboea as a basis of operations against Athens, and he never lost an opportunity of establishing his influence there. In 343—342 he supported Clitarchus, who had made himself tyrant of Eretria, and he sent troops to expel the popular party. An embassy sent by Athens on the motion of Demosthenes to counteract the intrigues of Philip was refused a hearing at Eretria, and the town fell into Philip's power. The banished democracy took possession of Porthmus, a harbour of Eretria, and Philip sent against them 1000 soldiers and destroyed the walls of Porthmus. He also sent troops to Oreus, to establish there the tyrant Philistides; and under the Macedonian influence the popular leader, Euphraeus, was sent to prison, where he slew himself to escape the vengeance of his enemies<sup>3</sup>. Athens, by the help of Demosthenes, was more fortunate in establishing her influence at Chalcis, where two brothers, Callias and Taurosthenes, who had once acted in Philip's interest, were now firm friends of the Athenians. Callias sent an embassy to Athens, and a treaty for mutual defence was made<sup>4</sup>. Aeschines violently attacks Callias as a friend of Demosthenes and an enemy of Athens.

47. In the winter of 343—342 Philip marched into Epirus, and placed Alexander, brother of his queen Olympias, on the throne<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The speech of Demosthenes is lost; but Aeschines probably alludes to it when he ridicules Demosthenes for "quarrelling about syllables." See Aesch. III. 83: 'Ἀλόγνησον ἐδίδου' κ.τ.λ.

<sup>2</sup> See § 10 (above).

<sup>3</sup> Dem. IX. 57—62, 66: Cor. 71, 79, 81.

<sup>4</sup> Aesch. III. 91—93.

<sup>5</sup> See Paus. I. 11<sup>3-5</sup>; Just. VII. 6, VIII. 6. I.

He also threatened to attack Leucadia and Ambracia (colonies of Corinth) and to cross into Peloponnesus. He made a treaty with the Aetolians, in which he agreed to restore to them Naupactus, which the Achaeans then held. He was foiled by Athens, which sent Demosthenes and other envoys to urge Corinth and Achaea to defend their rights<sup>1</sup>.

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and the protection of her trade with the Euxine. Athens and Byzantium had had so many grounds of enmity, especially since the Social War, that it now required no ordinary diplomatic skill to bring them into friendship. Later in 341—340 an embassy was sent to the King of Persia, perhaps on the suggestion of Demosthenes, asking for help against Philip; but the King sent back a very insulting letter, refusing his assistance<sup>1</sup>.

Even more important were the embassies to Peloponnesus which were undertaken by Demosthenes with Callias of Chalcis. These resulted in the formation of a powerful league against Philip, which, according to Aeschines, proposed to raise 100 talents, and to equip 100 ships of war, 10,000 foot soldiers, and 1000 horsemen, besides 2000 militia from Peloponnesus and 2000 from Acarnania. The leadership of the league was given to Athens, and a formal meeting of the allies at Athens was appointed, which probably was never held<sup>2</sup>. But the proposed forces appear to have been actually raised, as Demosthenes gives the number of the allies in the field as 15,000 mercenaries and 2000 cavalry, besides the militia<sup>3</sup>.

52. These vigorous preparations, which preceded the open outbreak of the war, amply justify the boasts of Demosthenes about the allies and the revenues which were raised for Athens by his influence<sup>4</sup>. One of the most important results of the close union between Demosthenes and Callias was the formal alliance of Athens and the cities of Euboea, which grew out of the treaty made two years before<sup>5</sup>. This alliance was closely connected with the expulsion of Philip's tyrants at Oreus and Eretria. In the summer of 341, on the motion of Demosthenes, an expedition was sent, which freed Oreus from the tyrant Philistides, who was put to death<sup>6</sup>. Several months later a more decisive expedition was sent under Phocion, on the motion of

<sup>1</sup> Aeschines (III. 238) probably refers to the King's reply: ἐγὼ ὑμῶν χροσίων οὐ δώσω· μή με αἰτεῖτε· οὐ γὰρ λήψεσθε.

<sup>2</sup> Aesch. III. 94—98.

<sup>3</sup> Cor. 237, where he includes the later Theban allies. The Ἀριθμὸς βοηθειῶν (Cor. 305) probably contained all the forces raised directly or indirectly by Demosthenes. See Cor. 301, 302.

<sup>4</sup> Cor. 234—237.

<sup>5</sup> See § 46 (above).

<sup>6</sup> Cor. 79<sup>b</sup>, τῇν ἐπ' Ὀρεῶν ἔξοδον: cf. 87.

Demosthenes, which liberated Eretria from the tyrant Clitarchus, who was put to death<sup>1</sup>. This completed the liberation of Euboea from Philip's influence, and made the island a firm friend of Athens. The Athenians expressed their gratitude to Demosthenes for these successful labours by the gift of a crown of gold, which was conferred in the theatre, at the Great Dionysia of 340, in the very terms which were subsequently used by Ctesiphon in his own decree<sup>2</sup>.

53. The dispute between Athens and Philip about Halonnesus in 343—342 left the island in Philip's hands, as Athens refused to take it as a gift from him, while he refused to "restore" it. At last, probably in 341—340, the people of Peparethus seized Halonnesus and made the Macedonian garrison prisoners. Philip soon avenged this act by sending a fleet to ravage Peparethus<sup>3</sup>. Athens then directed her commanders to make reprisals upon Philip. This shortly preceded the outbreak of the war.

Before midsummer 340 it was generally recognized throughout Greece that war was inevitable. Philip was then engaged in the conquest of Thrace, and had come to the point where the possession of Byzantium was indispensable to him. It was also of the utmost importance for him to become master of the grain traffic of the Euxine. He now called on the Byzantines, as his friends and former allies, to promise him their aid in his pending war with Athens. But here his way was blocked by the alliance already made by Demosthenes with Byzantium, and she refused to join him<sup>4</sup>. Upon this he resolved to secure her by force; and he began by attacking the neighbouring city of Perinthus. To this end he sent his fleet through the Hellespont, and he guarded it against attack during its passage by marching an army through the Chersonese to keep the Athenians well employed on shore<sup>5</sup>.

54. Perinthus was attacked vigorously (probably late in the summer of 340) by land and by sea, but it was also vigorously defended. Though Philip brought to the siege an army of 30,000

<sup>1</sup> Diod. xvi. 74: *Φωκίων μὲν κατεπολέμησε Κλειτάρχον τὸν Ἐρετρίας τύραννον καθεσταμένον ὑπὸ Φιλίππου.*

<sup>2</sup> See Cor. 83<sup>2-4</sup>, with note. See large edition, p. 280, note 3.

<sup>3</sup> Cor. 70<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> See § 51 (above); Cor. 87.

<sup>5</sup> Cor. 139<sup>5</sup> (see note).

men, besides his large fleet, and employed the most improved engines of war and towers two hundred feet high, the defenders were finally successful. They were constantly aided by their neighbours of Byzantium, and at last by a force sent by the King of Persia; though no help came from Athens or any other Greek city. Philip at length decided to abandon the siege; but he still hoped to surprise Byzantium, which was his real object, by a sudden attack. The better and larger part of the Byzantine army was at Perinthus. He therefore left about half his army at Perinthus, under his best commander, to make a show of continuing the siege, while he hastened with the rest to Byzantium and besieged it with all his skill. The Byzantines were at first greatly alarmed; but timely help came to them from a powerful friend. Athens was now openly at war with Philip, and her naval power soon came to the help of her new ally. A fleet under Chares, which was previously cruising in the northern Aegean, was sent to Byzantium, and was followed by another under Phocion, which was more powerful and more efficient. Chios, Cos, and Rhodes also sent their help. Byzantium was rescued, and Philip wisely abandoned this second siege. By some skilful device his fleet eluded the Athenian ships in the Bosphorus and escaped into the Aegean.

55. In the late summer or early autumn of 340, probably after the siege of Perinthus was begun, Philip sent to the Athenians a long letter, full of complaints of their aggressions and justifications of his own<sup>1</sup>. To this communication, which ended in a declaration of war, Athens replied only by her own declaration of war and a vote to remove the column on which the treaty of 346 B.C. was inscribed. The special occasion alleged by Demosthenes for the declaration of war was the capture of some Athenian merchant ships by Philip's cruisers in the Hellespont<sup>2</sup>; but war had been an avowed fact on both sides many weeks before it was declared.

When the Byzantine war was ended by the help of Athens and the wise counsels of Demosthenes, the gratitude of Perinthus, Byzantium,

<sup>1</sup> A document purporting to be this letter appears as no. XII. in the editions of Demosthenes. This is accepted as genuine, at least in substance, by Grote, Weil, and Blass. The document in Cor. 77, 78 is spurious.

<sup>2</sup> Cor. 73.

and the towns in the Chersonese was expressed to Athens as their deliverer by votes of thanks and crowns<sup>1</sup>.

56. We have very scanty accounts of Philip's movements from this time (probably early in 339 B.C.) until we find him the next summer fighting with the Scythians and the Triballi. An unimportant quarrel with Ateas, a Scythian king, gave him a ground for invading his dominions; and the aged king himself was defeated on the Danube and killed. Philip carried off as booty 20,000 boys and women, much cattle, and 20,000 breeding mares. On his return from Scythia, he passed through the country of the Triballi, with whom he had previously been in conflict<sup>2</sup>. These warlike mountaineers attacked him furiously; and in the battle he was severely wounded, his horse was killed under him, and he was thought to be dead. In the panic which followed, the Triballi took possession of the Scythian booty. Thus again humiliated, Philip returned to Macedonia<sup>3</sup>.

About the time of the renewal of war with Philip, Demosthenes proposed and carried his important trierarchic reform, by which the navy of Athens was put on a new footing and many old abuses were corrected. It was under this new system of trierarchy that all the fleets were fitted out during the war, and its success in removing grievances is described by Demosthenes with glowing pride and satisfaction<sup>4</sup>.

#### V. THE WAR WITH PHILIP, FROM 340 B.C. TO THE BATTLE OF CHAERONEA IN 338 B.C.

57. When Philip returned from Scythia in the summer of 339 B.C., he found that his war with Athens had been waged on both sides during his absence without decisive results. Though the Athenians had generally been defeated by land, yet the Macedonians felt

<sup>1</sup> Cor. 89—93.

<sup>2</sup> Cor. 44<sup>1</sup> with note.

<sup>3</sup> See Justin IX. 2, and Lucian, Macrob. II. Aeschines alludes briefly to the Scythian expedition, when he says of Philip in the summer of 339, *οὐκ ἐπιδημοῦντος ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ Φιλίππου, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι παρόντος, ἀλλ' ἐν Σκύθαις οὕτω μακρὰν ἀπόντος*. At the time of the regular meeting of the Amphictyonic Council (Aug. or Sept.), he had already returned, and he was then made general of the Amphictyons (Cor. 152; cf. Aesch. III. 129).

<sup>4</sup> Cor. 102—108: see note on 103<sup>4</sup>.

severely their naval weakness, by which they suffered a constant blockade of their coast without being able to retaliate by sea<sup>1</sup>. It was obviously impossible for Philip to invade Attica by land without the coöperation of both Thessaly and Thebes, and his relations with them did not warrant even a proposal to this end. Thessaly had been alienated by the abolition of her free governments; and Thebes, though she had gained the lion's share of the spoils at the end of the Sacred War, was deeply offended by the loss of Nicaea in the pass of Thermopylae, which Philip had given to Thessaly, and of her own colony Echinus, which Philip had taken for himself<sup>2</sup>. Without the consent of Thessaly he could not command the pass of Thermopylae; and without Thebes he could not use the fertile plain of Boeotia for military operations. Some undertaking which would unite the two in a common interest with himself seemed indispensable<sup>3</sup>. Such was Philip's perplexity when he found himself again at war with Athens after six years of nominal peace. When he departed for Scythia this problem was still unsolved, though possibly he may already have confided to Aeschines directly or indirectly some practical hints for its solution. However this may have been, it so happened that before Philip's return Aeschines had suddenly stirred up an Amphictyonic war, which delivered him from all his difficulties and opened the way for himself and his army into the very heart of Greece<sup>4</sup>. He had passed Thermopylae in triumph in 346 as the champion of the God of Delphi; he was now to enter Greece a second time clothed with the same sacred authority, to aid the Amphictyonic Council in punishing new offenders who were openly defying their commands.

58. We are here reduced to the alternative of believing either that Aeschines deliberately devised this Amphictyonic war to give Philip a free passage into Greece (or at least took advantage of a slight incident at Delphi to excite a general conflict), or else that he ignorantly and recklessly roused a war which could have no other end than bringing Philip into Greece at the head of an army. The latter alternative attributes to Aeschines a reckless ignorance of Greek politics with which we have no right to charge him. We are almost wholly dependent on his own graphic narrative for the facts as to the

<sup>1</sup> Cor. 145, 146.

<sup>3</sup> Cor. 147.

<sup>2</sup> Dem. IX, 34 (with Schol.); Aesch. III, 140.

<sup>4</sup> Cor. 149.

origin of this baneful war, and he must be condemned, if at all, on his own testimony<sup>1</sup>. And this evidence, in my opinion, strongly confirms the view of Demosthenes, that Philip saw that his appointment as commander in an Amphictyonic war was the surest way in which he could march an army into Greece without the opposition of Thessaly or Thebes; that such a war would be useless to him if it were stirred up by any of his own delegates or friends; and that he must employ an Athenian to devise a scheme which should secure this end without exciting suspicion in the Amphictyonic Council. At all events, Aeschines was ready at Delphi to do him this very service.

59. In the archonship of Theophrastus (340-339), the Athenian delegation to the spring meeting of the Amphictyonic Council consisted of Diognetus, the Hieromnemon of the year, and three Pylagori, Midias, the old enemy of Demosthenes, Thrasycles, and Aeschines<sup>2</sup>. These four were present at the meeting in Delphi, when Diognetus and Midias were attacked by fever and Aeschines suddenly found himself in a position of great importance. The Athenian delegates had been privately informed that the Locrians of Amphissa intended to propose a vote in the Council to fine Athens fifty talents because she had re-gilded and affixed to the newly-built temple of Delphi<sup>3</sup> some shields, probably relics of the battle of Plataea, and had renewed the old inscription, Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπὸ Μήδων καὶ Θηβαίων, ὅτε

<sup>1</sup> Aeschines tells how he stirred up the Amphictyons to war in III. 107-124; and he slurs over the highly important matter of the appointment of Philip as commander in 128, 129, without expressly mentioning the appointment. Demosthenes, Cor. 149-152, alludes briefly to the Amphictyonic meeting at Delphi, being in essential agreement with Aeschines as to the main facts, and to Philip's appointment; in 163-179 and 211-218 he gives the subsequent events which led to the alliance of Athens and Thebes and those which followed that alliance.

<sup>2</sup> For the constitution of the Amphictyonic Council and the distinction of the two classes of delegates, Hieromnemons and Pylagori, see Essay V.

<sup>3</sup> See Aesch. III. 116 ὅτι χρυσᾶς ἀσπίδας ἀνέθεμεν πρὸς τὸν καινὸν νεῶν πρὶν ἐξεύρασθαι. This "new temple" was not the temple built by the Alcmaeonidae two centuries before, nor any addition to that building. The temple built by the Alcmaeonidae was destroyed early in the fourth century B.C. See Homolle, Bulletin de Corresp. Hellén. for 1896, pp. 667-701. The disputed word ἐξεύρασθαι probably refers to some ceremony of dedication.

τάναντία τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐμάχοντο. This renewal of the ancient disgrace of Thebes in fighting on the side of the Persians at Plataea was, it must be confessed, neither a friendly nor a politic act; it shows the abiding exasperation between Thebes and Athens which followed the victory of Leuctra. But this was of little consequence now. The Hieromnemon sent for Aeschines, and asked him to attend the Amphictyonic meeting on that day in his place, as if he were a delegate with full powers, and defend Athens against the Locrian accusation. Aeschines was therefore present at the meeting by special authority. As he began to speak, apparently referring in some excitement to the threatened charge against Athens, he was rudely interrupted by an Amphissian, who protested against the very mention of the Athenians, declaring that they should be shut out of the temple as accursed because of their alliance with the Phocians. Aeschines replied in great anger; and among other retorts "it occurred to him" to mention the impiety of the Amphissians in encroaching on the accursed plain of Cirrha, which had been solemnly devoted to everlasting sterility and desolation by the Amphictyonic Council about 250 years before, on the motion of Solon<sup>1</sup>, at the end of the first Sacred War.

60. Cirrha was the ancient seaport of Delphi on the Gulf of Corinth, while Crissa (often confounded with it) was a town on the height above the river Pleistus, on the road to Delphi (near the modern Χρυσό)<sup>2</sup>. The broad plain of Cirrha, one of the most fertile in Greece, lay between the foot of Parnassus and the coast, and was called by both names Cirrhaean and Crissaean. In obedience to the Amphictyonic curse, Cirrha with its harbour was destroyed, and the plain had remained uncultivated until recently, when the Amphissians had re-established the ancient port as a convenient landing-place for visitors to Delphi, and levied tolls on those who used it. They had also cultivated a part of the accursed plain and erected buildings upon it. The Amphictyons seem to have quietly acquiesced in this violation

<sup>1</sup> Aesch. III. 115—118. The destruction of Cirrha and the consecration of its plain took place in 586 B.C., at the end of the ten years' Sacred War.

<sup>2</sup> The ancient walls of Crissa, enclosing a large space on the brink of the cliff, are still to be seen, though buried and overgrown so as often to escape observation.

of the sacred edict, doubtless seeing the advantages of the newly opened port to themselves, and thinking little of the almost forgotten curse. But they were not proof against the arts and eloquence of an accomplished Athenian orator, who ingeniously presented the case in impassioned language and with powerful appeals to the prejudices and the bigotry of an antiquated religious assembly, with which a venerable curse had greater weight than the strongest political motives or the abstract idea of Hellenic unity. From the hill near Delphi where the Amphictyonic Council sat under the open sky, there is a magnificent view of the sacred plain, extending to the gulf of Corinth. Here Aeschines stood in the excited assembly, and showed them the plantations and buildings of the Amphissians on the forbidden land; and he caused the terrific imprecations of the ancient curse to be repeated, which declared any man, city, or state, which should cultivate or occupy the plain of Cirrha, accursed of Apollo, Artemis, Leto, and Athena, and devoted to utter destruction with their houses and their race. He reminded them that the same curse was invoked on all who should permit others to violate the sacred edict. We cannot wonder that the whole assemblage was fired with fierce enthusiasm to avenge the wrongs of Apollo upon the sacrilegious Amphissians. When Aeschines had finished his speech, as he tells the court, the question of the Athenian shields was wholly forgotten, and the only thought was of the punishment of the Amphissians. The flame had now been kindled, which was to end in the conflagration that Philip was eager to see. An Amphictyonic war was begun, which could be ended only by the intervention of Philip and his army. Thebes and Thessaly could now be united in a common cause with Philip<sup>1</sup>.

61. Late in the day the meeting adjourned; and a herald was ordered to proclaim that all Delphians, freemen and slaves, above the age of eighteen, and all the Amphictyonic delegates, should meet the next morning at daybreak with spades and picks, ready "to aid the God and the sacred land"; and that any state which failed to obey should be accursed and excluded from the temple. This Amphictyonic mob assembled and descended to the plain, where they burned the houses and destroyed the moles which enclosed the harbour. On

<sup>1</sup> Aesch. III. 119—122.

their way back to Delphi, they were attacked by a crowd from Amphissa, and barely escaped with their lives: some of the Council were captured. The next day an Amphictyonic Assembly (ἐκκλησία) was summoned, consisting of the delegates and all other citizens of Amphictyonic states who happened to be at Delphi. This body voted that the Hieromnemons, after consulting their respective states, should meet at Thermopylae at some time before the regular autumnal meeting of the Council, prepared to take some definite action concerning the Amphissians<sup>1</sup>. When this vote was first reported at Athens by her delegates, the people "took the pious side" (as Aeschines calls it); but a few days later, after a little consideration and when the influence of Demosthenes had prevailed, it was voted that the Athenian delegates "should proceed to Thermopylae and Delphi at the times appointed by our ancestors," and further that no Athenian representatives should take any part in the irregular meeting at Thermopylae, "either in speech or in action." This wise step precluded Athens in the most public manner from taking any part in the mad Sacred War which Aeschines had stirred up: in his own words, "it forbids you to remember the oaths which your ancestors swore, or the curse, or the oracle of the God<sup>2</sup>."

62. The appointed meeting was held at Thermopylae, with no representatives from Athens, and (what was more ominous for Philip's designs) with none from Thebes. It was voted to make war upon the Amphissians, and Cottyphus, the president of the Council, was made commander. The Amphissians at first yielded, and were fined and ordered to banish the leading rebels. But they paid no fine, and soon restored their exiles, and banished again "the pious" whom the Amphictyons had restored. The autumnal meeting of the Council (339 B.C.) found things in this condition; and it is hard to believe that the leaders in this miserable business expected any other issue. The Council was told plainly and with truth, that they must either raise a mercenary army and tax their states to pay for it, fining all who refused to do their part, or else make Philip the Amphictyonic general. It is not surprising that Philip was at once elected<sup>3</sup>. We are now

<sup>1</sup> This seems to be the meaning of the obscure words (Aesch. III. 124),  
 ἔχοντας δόγμα (?) καθ' ὃ τι δίκας δώσουσιν οἱ Ἀμφισσεῖς.

<sup>2</sup> Aesch. III. 122—127.

<sup>3</sup> Dem. Cor. 152: see the whole description 149—153.

just beyond the point at which Aeschines thought it wise to stop in his exciting narrative. When he told of the first expedition against Amphissa under the command of Cottyphus, he added that Philip was then "away off in Scythia," so that of course *he* was in nobody's mind. After this, he could not tell of Philip's election a few weeks later without an absurd anti-climax, which would be all the more ridiculous when he was compelled to add that the first act of the new Amphictyonic general in this pious war was one of open hostility to Athens and Thebes. Accordingly he does not mention in this narrative either the appointment of Philip or the seizure of Elatea which immediately followed his appointment. Instead of stating these important facts, the direct results of his own deliberate action, he bursts forth with a new flood of eloquence, and dilates on the terrible omens and the more terrible calamities which followed the refusal of Athens to take the leadership in the holy war against Amphissa, to which she was called by the voice of Heaven; and he once alludes to Elatea in the vaguest manner, without hinting that its seizure by Philip was an event for which he was himself even in the slightest degree responsible<sup>1</sup>.

63. Demosthenes describes the action of Aeschines in stirring up the new Sacred War very briefly, but very plainly, representing it as a deliberate plot, devised by Philip and executed by Aeschines, for securing Philip and his army free admission into Greece to attack Athens. He mentions the choice of Philip as general, and adds that Philip immediately collected an army and entered Greece, professedly bound for the plain of Cirrha; but that he suddenly bade the Cirrhaeans and Locrians "a long farewell," and seized and fortified Elatea. This old Phocian town, which had been dismantled in 346 B.C., held a military position of the greatest importance for Philip's plans. It stood at the outlet of one of the chief passes leading from Thermopylae, and it commanded the broad plain through which the Cephissus flows on its way to Boeotia. It was also the key to the rough roads leading westward to Doris and Amphissa. From this point Philip threatened both Athens and Thebes so directly as to leave no doubt of his purpose in entering Greece. He hoped that

<sup>1</sup> See the end of III. 129, with its mysterious and obscure language, and the preceding narrative. For the tardy allusion to Elatea see 140.

the traditional feud between Athens and Thebes would bring Thebes into his alliance; but he trusted to his commanding position on the frontier of Boeotia to convince her that her only hope of safety lay in his friendship. The prospect of Boeotia being the seat of war was an alarming one, from which a united invasion of Attica by Thebes and Philip was the only sure escape<sup>1</sup>. Demosthenes states that the Macedonian party in both Athens and Thebes had long been fomenting discord between the two cities, which were now so estranged that Philip felt that there was no possibility of their uniting against him.

64. We are almost wholly dependent on Demosthenes for what we know of the skilful diplomacy by which Thebes was secured as an ally of Athens against Philip<sup>2</sup>. This was the crowning achievement of the political life of Demosthenes, and he always alludes to it with honest pride. We have his own graphic story of the wild excitement at Athens when a messenger at evening brought the news from Elatea, and of the solemn meeting of the people the next morning when he made his eloquent speech, by which he laid the foundation for a right understanding with Thebes and secured the appointment of a friendly embassy, of which he was himself the leader. He then describes briefly but clearly the critical negotiations with Thebes, which ended in a treaty of alliance. We are not informed of the details of this treaty; but the carping criticisms of Aeschines indicate that the liberal spirit towards Thebes which inspired Demosthenes in his first proposals was felt in all the negotiations. Aeschines gives one important item, designed to protect the alliance against the defection of any Boeotian cities to Philip. This provided that in case of any such defection Athens would stand by "the Boeotians at Thebes<sup>3</sup>." Demosthenes brings forward a letter addressed by Philip to his former friends in Peloponnesus when the Thebans deserted him, in which he solicits their help on the ground that he is waging an Amphictyonic war in a holy cause<sup>4</sup>. During the campaign which followed, Demosthenes appears to have had equal influence at Athens and at Thebes. Theopompus says that the generals at Athens and the Boetarchs at Thebes were equally obedient to his commands, and that the public

<sup>1</sup> Dem. Cor. 213.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 169—188, 211—216.

<sup>3</sup> Aesch. III. 142.

<sup>4</sup> Dem. Cor. 156, 158.

assembly of Thebes was ruled by him as absolutely as that of Athens<sup>1</sup>.

65. Of the campaign itself very little is known. We hear of one "winter battle" and one "battle by the river," in which the allies were victorious<sup>2</sup>. These victories were celebrated by festivals and thanksgivings; and they caused Philip to renew his solicitations for help in letters to the Peloponnesians. The alliance with Thebes was so popular in Athens, that Demosthenes, as its author, was publicly crowned at the Great Dionysia in the spring of 338<sup>3</sup>. The allies suffered one serious defeat near Amphissa, which Philip—perhaps for the sake of appearances—finally attacked and destroyed<sup>4</sup>. He also captured Naupactus, put to death the Achaean garrison with its commander Pausanias, and gave the town to the Aetolians, thus fulfilling his promise of four years before<sup>5</sup>. At some time during this campaign, he sent a herald with proposals of peace to Thebes and Athens, which, it appears, the Boeotarchs were at first inclined to entertain. Even at Athens a peace-party appeared, with Phocion as its advocate. Aeschines relates that Demosthenes was so disturbed by the peace-movement at Thebes, that he threatened to propose to send an embassy to Thebes to ask for the Athenian army a free passage through Boeotia to attack Philip<sup>6</sup>. We hear no more of this movement, and a visit of Demosthenes to Thebes probably brought it to a speedy end.

66. Our accounts of the battle of Chaeronea are as meagre as those of the preceding campaign<sup>7</sup>. This decisive battle was fought on the seventh of Metageitnion (either August second or September first), 338 B.C. At first the battle was rather favourable to the allies; but soon the superior discipline of the Macedonians prevailed, and the

<sup>1</sup> Theopompus, fr. 239: see Plut. Dem. 18: ὑπηρετεῖν δὲ μὴ μόνον τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τῷ Δημοσθένει ποιῶντας τὸ προσταττόμενον ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς βοιωτάρχας, διοικεῖσθαι δὲ τὰς ἐκκλησίας ἀπάσας οὐδὲν ἦττον ὑπ' ἐκείνου τότε τὰς Θηβαίων ἢ τὰς Ἀθηναίων.

<sup>2</sup> Dem. Cor. 216, 217.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 218, 222, 223.

<sup>4</sup> Polyæn. iv. 2, 8; Strab. 427; Aesch. III. 147.

<sup>5</sup> See § 47 (above).

<sup>6</sup> Aesch. III. 148—151.

<sup>7</sup> See Diod. xvi. 86.

Greeks were driven back on both wings. A general flight ensued, after which the Greeks were scattered, so that there was no longer any military force between Philip's camp and Thebes or Athens. These cities lay at his mercy; their armies were disbanded, and neither could help the other. A thousand Athenians were killed, and about two thousand were taken prisoners. The Boeotian loss was also great, and the famous Sacred Band of three hundred Thebans perished to a man.

67. The panic and despair in Athens when the first tidings of the defeat arrived were most pitiable. No one knew how soon the victorious army might follow in the steps of the messengers who brought the terrible news<sup>1</sup>. But the leaders of the people who were at home, especially Lycurgus and Hyperides, and Demosthenes after his return from the battlefield, did all that was possible to restore courage, and the panic soon changed to a resolute determination to save the city from destruction or capture. Hyperides, who was one of the Senate of Five Hundred (regularly exempt from military service), immediately proposed a bill ordering the Senate to go to the Piræus under arms and there to hold a meeting to provide for the safety of the port; and further providing that all slaves in the mines and the country districts who would enlist should be free, and that exiles should be recalled, public debtors and other *ἄτιμοι* should be restored to their rights, and metics should be made citizens, on the same condition. It was hoped that these last measures might furnish a force of 150,000 men for immediate defence<sup>2</sup>. It was also voted to bring the women and children and such sacred property as was movable from unprotected places into the Piræus. Lycurgus, who had charge of the finances, did wonders in replenishing the empty treasury, and in providing arms and ships for the emergency. Large sums of money were raised by private contributions, the *μεγάλαι ἐπιδόσεις* of Cor. § 171, Demosthenes giving one talent. Demosthenes devoted himself especially to preparing the city for immediate defence, especially by repairing the dilapidated

<sup>1</sup> See Lycurg. *Leoc.* 39, 40.

<sup>2</sup> Lycurg. *Leoc.* 37, 41; Hyper. fr. 29 (Blass). When Hyperides was indicted by *γραφὴ παρανόμων* for the illegality of some of these measures, he replied: *ἐπεσκότει μοι τὰ Μακεδόνων ὄπλα· οὐκ ἐγὼ τὸ ψήφισμα ἔγραψα, ἡ δ' ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ μάχη.*

walls and other defences and by raising money for this object<sup>1</sup>. In adopting all these energetic measures the people showed that the spirit of Marathon and Salamis was not wholly extinct at Athens.

68. When Philip heard of these preparations for receiving him, he naturally thought seriously of his next steps. As a former ally, who had deliberately turned against him at a critical moment, Thebes could expect only severe punishment. Accordingly, he compelled her to ransom her prisoners and even to pay for the right to bury her dead at Chaeronea<sup>2</sup>; he broke up the Boeotian confederacy and made all the other towns independent of Thebes; he placed a Macedonian garrison in the Cadmea; and he recalled the exiles who were opposed to the Athenian alliance, and established from these a judicial council of three hundred. Some of the old leaders were exiled, and others put to death; and their estates were confiscated<sup>3</sup>. Philip's knowledge of the position of Athens in Greece probably convinced him that it would be the worst possible policy for him to treat her in this way. Athens could not be taken without a siege, which might be protracted into the winter; and such treatment would unite Athens against him in hopeless enmity. He fortunately had a good, though unprincipled, adviser at hand, the Athenian Demades. He was taken prisoner at Chaeronea; but had ingratiated himself with Philip, so that he was released and remained as a friend in the king's camp. Philip accordingly sent him as his messenger to Athens. The Athenians replied by sending Demades, Aeschines, and probably Phocion as envoys to Philip, to ask for a release of the Athenian captives. Philip received this embassy with great cordiality and immediately invited them to his table<sup>4</sup>. He released all the prisoners without ransom, and promised to return the ashes of those who had fallen. He sent these remains to Athens in charge of no less a person than Antipater, with whom

<sup>1</sup> See Cor. 248<sup>10</sup> and note; Lycurg. Leoc. 44. Aeschines, III. 236, ridicules the patriotic fervour with which this work was done: οὐ γὰρ περιχαρώσαντα χρὴ τὰ τεύχη οὐδὲ τάφους δημοσίου ἀνελόντα τὸν ὀρθῶς πεπολιτευμένον Σωπεῖς αἰρεῖν.

<sup>2</sup> Justin IX. 4<sup>6</sup>: Thebanorum porro non modo captivos verum etiam intersectorum sepulturam vendidit.

<sup>3</sup> Diod. XVI. 87; Paus. IX. 1, 8; Justin IX. 4.

<sup>4</sup> See note on Cor. 287<sup>4</sup>, with the references.

Alexander himself went as a special messenger with offers of peace and friendship<sup>1</sup>. The result was the treaty of peace, known as the Peace of Demades, by which both peace and alliance were again established between Philip and Athens. The Athenians were to remain free and independent, and Philip probably agreed never to send ships of war into the Piræus. Oropus, which had been taken from Thebes, was now at length restored to Athens. Athens was to hold certain islands, among which were Salamis, Samos, and Delos; but all trace of her recent alliance and all thought of maritime empire had disappeared for ever<sup>2</sup>. Philip left it open to her to join the general Greek League which he proposed to form, and of which he was to be the head. This step would sacrifice the independence of Athens in many important points; but in the absence of Demosthenes, and in spite of the scruples of Phocion, who asked for more time to consider the question, the Assembly adopted the proposals of Demades in full, and these made Athens a member of the League<sup>3</sup>. By this step, which was probably a necessary one under the circumstances, Athens ceased to have any independent political existence; and the peace of Demades ends her history as a free state and as a power in the Hellenic world.

69. The feeling of Demosthenes about this peace after eight years' experience is seen in *Cor.* § 89. While he doubtless acquiesced quietly in it at the beginning, he never forgot the bitter humiliation. Under the influence of this quiet submission to Philip's authority, cloaked under the name of independence, the Macedonian party, with Aeschines at its head, again became powerful at Athens<sup>4</sup>. It was then that it was safe for the whole herd of the enemies of Demosthenes to persecute him with every form of process which was known to the Attic law, when (as he says) he was "brought to trial every day." But he mentions this only to testify to the affection of his fellow citizens, who always acquitted him in the popular courts, and thus justified his conduct in the most effective manner<sup>5</sup>. Indeed, though the party of Aeschines then had the courage to speak its sentiments more freely than ever before<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> See Polyb. v. 10; Justin ix. 4<sup>b</sup>; Diod. xvi. 87.

<sup>2</sup> See Paus. i. 25. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Plut. Phoc. 16.

<sup>4</sup> Dem. *Cor.* 320.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. 248—250.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. 286<sup>a</sup>.

and in so doing gained the favour of Philip and his partizans, the sober sense of the people always recognized the services of men like Demosthenes in better times and expressed itself whenever an occasion offered. There was no testimony of the public esteem and affection which Demosthenes valued more highly than the choice of the people in making him their orator to deliver the eulogy on the heroes of Chaeronea<sup>1</sup>. Here the genuine feeling of patriotic gratitude to the man who had fought the battle of Grecian liberty almost single-handed impelled the citizens to reject all candidates who were in sympathy with Philip or his cause, including Aeschines and even Demades, and to choose the man who was most heartily identified with the lost cause for which these heroes had died. And the same public respect for Demosthenes and for his honest and unswerving devotion to what was now seen more clearly than ever to have been the cause of Grecian liberty, the cause which had made their ancestors glorious, was shown in the overwhelming vote by which the popular court acquitted Ctesiphon and condemned Aeschines, at the very moment when such a judgment might have been deemed a public defiance of Alexander's authority, while the whole Greek world was ringing with the news of the victory of Arbela.

<sup>1</sup> Dem. Cor. 285.

## TABLE OF DATES.

B.C.

- 384—383. Birth of Demosthenes. (§ 7.)<sup>1</sup>  
 382—381. Birth of Philip of Macedon. (§ 3.)  
 378—377. New Athenian Confederacy formed. Financial reforms of Nausinicus. Introduction of Symmories for property tax.  
 376—375. Death of Demosthenes, father of the orator. Guardians appointed for the son. (§ 7.)  
 371—370. Battle of Leuctra (July 371).  
 366—365. Demosthenes comes of age at 18; devotes two years to preparation for the Jawsuit against his guardians. (§ 7.)  
 364—363. Trial of suit against Aphobus. (§ 8.)  
 362—361. Battle of Mantinea and death of Epaminondas. (§ 1.)  
 359—358. Accession of Philip of Macedon. (§ 3.)  
 Artaxerxes III. (Ochus) becomes king of Persia.  
 358—357. Symmories for the Trierarchy established.  
 357—356. Athenian expedition to Euboea frees the island from the Thebans. (§ 2.) Outbreak of Social War. (§ 2.) Philip captures Amphipolis, which leads to war with Athens, and takes Pydna and Potidaea from Athens. (§ 3.)  
 356—355. Birth of Alexander the Great, July 21, 356 B.C. (§ 3.)  
 Beginning of sacred (Phocian) War: seizure of temple of Delphi by Philomelus. (§ 4.)  
 End of Social War, spring of 355. (§ 2.)  
 355—354. Speeches of Demosthenes against Androtion and Leptines.  
 354—353. First public speech of Demosthenes, on the Symmories. (§ 8.) Eubulus takes charge of the finances of Athens. Philomelus killed. Sacred War continued by Onomarchus. Spoliation of temple of Delphi. (§ 4.)  
 353—352. Philip takes Methone from Athens. (§ 3.)  
 He attacks and defeats Lycophron of Pherae; has battles

<sup>1</sup> The references in ( ) are made to sections of the Historical Sketch.

- with Phocians, and finally defeats Onomarchus, who is slain. He secures control of Gulf of Pagasae. (§ 5.)
- 353—352. Speech of Demosthenes for the Megalopolitans. (§ 8.)  
Athens sends force to Thermopylae and closes the pass to Philip, before midsummer 352. (§ 6.)
- 352—351. Philip besieges Heraion Teichos in Thrace, Nov. 352. (§ 9.)  
First Philippic of Demosthenes, spring of 351. (§ 9.)
- 351—350. Speech of Demosthenes for the Rhodians. (§ 9.)  
Athens sends Phocion with an army to help Plutarchus in Euboea (Feb. 350). Battle of Tamynae. (§ 10.)  
Midias assaults Demosthenes at the Great Dionysia (March 350), and is condemned by vote of the Assembly. (§ 11.)
- 349—348. Demosthenes Senator: writes speech against Midias. (§ 11.)  
Philip attacks the Olynthian confederation and besieges Olynthus. Alliance of Olynthus with Athens. Demosthenes delivers his Olynthiacs. (§ 12.) Philip sends peaceful messages to Athens and releases Phrynon. (§ 13.)
- 348—347. Olynthus captured by Philip, with all its confederate towns (early autumn of 348): consternation in Greece. (§§ 12, 13.)  
Philocrates first proposes negotiations for peace with Philip. (§ 13.)  
Mission of Aristodemus to Philip. (§ 13.)  
Movement of Eubulus and Aeschines against Philip, and embassies to Greek states. (§§ 14, 15.)
- 347—346. Themistocles Archon. Demosthenes again Senator. Aristodemus brings friendly messages from Philip. (§ 13.)  
Thebans and Phocians both exhausted by Sacred War. Phocians ask aid from Athens (early in 346), but reject it when sent. (§§ 17, 18.)  
On motion of Philocrates (Feb. 346), ten envoys are sent to Philip to propose negotiations for peace (First Embassy). Envoys return end of March. (§§ 18—21.)  
Two meetings of Assembly, to discuss terms of peace with Philip's envoys, 18th and 19th of Elaphebolion (April 15, 16), 346: peace voted on second day. (§§ 22—28.)

- 347—346. Same envoys sent again to Philip, to ratify the peace (Second Embassy). (§ 29.)  
 Assembly 25th of Elaphebolion, Demosthenes presiding: see note on Cor. § 170<sup>2</sup>. Φίλιππος of Isocrates. (§ 28.)  
 Decree of Senate ordering the departure of the Embassy (April 29). Further delays. (§§ 29—31.)  
 Return of Embassy to Athens, 13th of Scirophorion (July 7). Reports to Senate and Assembly. Philip already at Thermopylae. Assembly votes 16th of Scir. (July 10) to compel the Phocians to deliver the temple of Delphi to "the Amphictyons." Philip's letters. (§§ 33—35.)  
 Ten envoys (Third Embassy) sent to Thermopylae, to report action of the Assembly to Philip: they depart about 21st of Scirophorion (July 15). (§§ 35—37.)  
 Phalaecus surrenders Thermopylae to Philip 23rd of Sciroph. (July 17). Athenian envoys hear this news at Chalcis and return. Meeting of Assembly in Piraeus 27th of Scir. (July 21). Embassy ordered to proceed to Thermopylae, and departs at once. (§§ 36—38.)  
 End of Sacred War. (§ 39.)
- 346—345. Demosthenes and Timarchus begin proceedings against Aeschines for παραπροσβεία (autumn of 346). See Essay IV. 1, 2.  
 Archias Archon. Philip summons Amphictyonic Council, which expels the Phocians and gives their two votes to Philip. Terrible punishment of the Phocians. (§ 38.)  
 Philip celebrates the Pythian games (Sept. 346). (§ 39.)  
 Philip demands recognition of his position in Amphictyonic Council. Speech of Demosthenes on the Peace. (§ 40.)  
 Prosecution of Timarchus by Aeschines (winter). See Essay IV. 1.
- 345—344. Philip interferes in disputes in Peloponnesus. Demosthenes sent as envoy to counteract his influence. (§ 41.)
- 344—343. Second Philippic of Demosthenes (late in 344). Philip's influence in Peloponnesus. (§ 42.)  
 Trial and condemnation of Antíphon. (§ 43.)  
 Prosecution of Philocrates on εἰσαγγελία by Hyperides, and his exile (before midsummer 343). See Essay IV. 2.

- 344—343. Case of temple of Delos before Amphictyonic Council: Hyperides advocate of Athens. (§ 43.)  
Mission of Python to Athens (before midsummer 343).  
Discussion of the peace and of Halonnesus. (§ 44.)
- 343—342. Trial and acquittal of Aeschines on charge of *παράπρεσβεία* (late summer or autumn of 343). (§ 45.) See Essay IV.  
Philip's intrigues in Euboea: he supports tyrants at Eretria and Oreus. Chalcis makes treaty with Athens. (§ 46.)  
Philip invades Epirus, threatens Ambracia and Acarnania, and establishes tetrarchs in Thessaly. (§§ 47, 48.)  
Philip's letter to Athens about Halonnesus and modifications of the peace. Speech of Hegesippus on Halonnesus (Dem. VII.). (§ 45.)  
Aristotle made tutor of Alexander. (§ 48.)
- 342—341. Philip extends his power in the Thracian Chersonese, and comes into conflict with the Athenian general, Diopithes. Speech on the Chersonese and Third Philippic of Demosthenes (before midsummer 341). (§§ 49, 50.)
- 341—340. Mission of Demosthenes to Byzantium (summer): alliance of Athens and Byzantium. (§ 51.)  
League against Philip formed by Demosthenes and Callias of Chalcis. (§ 51.) Expeditions of Athens to Euboea, which overthrow tyrants in Oreus and (later) in Eretria. (§ 52.)  
Alliance of Athens with Euboea. Demosthenes crowned at the Great Dionysia for liberating Euboea. (§ 52.)  
The people of Peparethus seize Halonnesus. Philip in return ravages Peparethus. (§ 53.)
- 340—339. Theophrastus Archon. Philip besieges Perinthus (late summer of 340): in autumn raises this siege and attacks Byzantium. (§§ 53, 54.)  
Before the attack on Byzantium Philip makes open declaration of war. Two fleets sent by Athens to relieve Byzantium: siege raised by Philip. (§§ 54, 55.)  
Philip (winter) invades Scythia. Returning with booty, he is attacked by the Triballi and wounded. (§ 56.)  
Speech of Aeschines at Delphi (spring of 339), which stirs up the Amphisian War. (§§ 59, 60, 61.)

- 339—338. Amphictyonic Council (early autumn of 339) chooses Philip general. (§ 62.) Shortly afterwards Philip passes Thermopylae and seizes Elatea. (§ 63.)  
 Negotiations between Athens and Thebes, ending in alliance against Philip. (§§ 63, 64.)  
 Campaign (winter and spring): allies victorious in "winter battle" and "river battle." Capture of mercenaries and destruction of Amphissa by Philip. (§§ 64, 65.)
- 338—337. Battle of Chaeronea, 7th Metageitnion 338 (August 2 or September 1): utter defeat of the allies. (§ 66.) Active measures at Athens. (§ 67.)  
 Action of Philip. Peace of Demades. (§ 68.)  
 Position of Demosthenes after the peace. He delivers the eulogy on those who fell at Chaeronea. (§ 69.)
- 337—336. Demosthenes director of the Theoric Fund and *τοιχοποιός*. Ctesiphon proposes to crown Demosthenes at the Great Dionysia (spring of 336). Aeschines brings *γραφὴ παρανόμων* against Ctesiphon. (See 330—329.)
- 337—336. Philip assassinated, summer of 336. Alexander succeeds him.
- 335—334. Rebellion of Thebes. Alexander captures and destroys the city (autumn of 335).  
 Alexander demands the delivery of Demosthenes, Lycurgus, Hyperides, and other Athenian orators.  
 Aristotle returns to Athens and teaches in the Lyceum.
- 334—330. Alexander's victory at Arbela (Oct. 1, 331).  
 Rebellion of Spartan King Agis (early in 330), crushed by Antipater.
- 330—329. Aristophon Archon. Trial of suit of Aeschines against Ctesiphon (August, 330). Ctesiphon acquitted by more than four-fifths of the votes. See Essay III.
- 324—323. Demosthenes condemned to a fine of 50 talents in the affair of Harpalus. Unable to pay, he went into exile.  
 Death of Alexander the Great (May, 323) at Babylon.
- 323—322. Triumphant recall of Demosthenes from exile.
322. Death of Aristotle at Chalcis, autumn of 322.  
 Death of Hyperides October 5, and of Demosthenes October 12, 322.

## THE ATTIC YEAR.

The Athenians had a lunar year of 354 days, consisting of twelve months, alternately of 30 and 29 days, equivalent to 12 lunar months of  $29\frac{1}{2}$  days each. The longer months were called *πλήρεις*, the shorter *κοῖλοι*. This fell short of the solar year by  $11\frac{1}{4}$  days, the difference in eight years amounting to 90 days. This was regulated by making the third, fifth, and eighth year in each cycle of eight years (*ὀκταετηρίς*) a leap year with 384 days, thus making the number of days in each cycle correct. (Thus  $(354 \times 5) + (384 \times 3) = 2922 = 365\frac{1}{4} \times 8$ .) The slight errors which remained were equated in various ways. The natural beginning of the Attic year was the summer solstice; but the great difference in the length of the years allowed the beginning to vary from about June 16 to August 7.

The twelve months in the ordinary year were as follows; 1 Hecatombaeon, 2 Metageitnion, 3 Boedromion, 4 Pyanepsion, 5 Maemacterion, 6 Posideon, 7 Gamelion, 8 Anthesterion, 9 Elaphebolion, 10 Munychion, 11 Thargelion, 12 Scirophorion. In the leap years a month of thirty days, Posideon II., was intercalated after Posideon. The same months appear to have been *πλήρεις* and *κοῖλοι* in different years. The first day of every month was generally called *νομηνία*, and the last day *ἐνὶ καὶ νέα*, *old and new*; the latter name, which probably was first applied to the full months, showing that the thirtieth day in these months was supposed to belong equally to the old and the new month. The days from the 2nd to the 9th were called *δευτέρα*, *τρίτη*, etc., sometimes with *ἱσταμένου* or *ἀρχομένου* (sc. *μηνός*) added; the 10th was the *δεκάς*; those from the 11th to the 19th were called *πρώτη*, *δευτέρα*, etc., with *ἐπὶ δέκα* or *μεσοῦντος* added, though this could be omitted when it was obvious that the middle of the month was meant. The 20th was the *εἰκάς*; and the days from the 21st to the 29th in the full months were generally counted backwards, *δεκάτη φθίνοντος* (21st), *ἐνάτη*, *ὀγδόη*, etc. to *δευτέρα φθίνοντος* (22nd, 23rd, etc. to 29th). It is generally thought that the *δευτέρα φθίνοντος* was omitted in the "hollow" months.

The following is a possible statement of the arrangement of the thirteen months in 347—346 B.C., the year of the peace of Philocrates.

This was a leap year of 384 days, beginning July 6 and ending July 24. Other arrangements are possible; but these would not affect any of the dates by more than a single day.

1.	Hecatombaeon	(30 days)	begins July	6, 347 B.C.
2.	Metageitnion	(29 " )	" August	5 "
3.	Boedromion	(30 " )	" Sept.	3 "
4.	Pyanepsion	(29 " )	" Oct.	3 "
5.	Maemacterion	(30 " )	" Nov.	1 "
6.	Posideon	(29 " )	" Dec.	1 "
7.	[Posideon II.]	(30 " )	" "	30 "
8.	Gamelion	(29 " )	" Jan.	29, 346 B.C.
9.	Anthesterion	(30 " )	" Feb.	27 "
10.	Elaphebolion	(29 " )	" March	29 "
11.	Munychion	(30 " )	" April	27 "
12.	Thargelion	(29 " )	" May	27 "
13.	Sciophorion	(30 " )	" June	25 "

Thus Elaphebolion 18, 19 = April 15, 16;

Munychion 3 = April 29;

Thargelion 22 = June 17;

Sciophorion 13 = July 7;

" 23 = " 17;

" 27 = " 21.

Hecatombaeon 346—345 begins July 25.

## ESSAYS.

### I.

#### *The Argument of the Oration, with Remarks on §§ 120, 121.*

1. THE argument of this Oration follows no recognized model, and it cannot be brought under any rhetorical system of rules. The occasion was unique; and the orator treated it uniquely, and with a masterly skill which is far beyond the art of a mère rhetorician. Demosthenes is technically defending a client on a question of constitutional law; he is really defending his own public life and his reputation as a patriot and a statesman against the unscrupulous charges of a personal enemy. He feels sure that the large body of his fellow-citizens who form the court will listen chiefly to his defence of himself and of his public policy and will overlook the technical questions of law; and he judges rightly. The skill, however, with which he keeps these technical questions in the background, so that the judges shall never lose sight of the higher questions of state policy, and the art by which he conceals this art, are worthy of careful study.

2. The indictment (*γραφὴ παρανόμων*) brings three charges of illegality (*παράνομα*) against Ctesiphon's bill for conferring a crown on Demosthenes: (1) the bill proposes to crown Demosthenes while he is a responsible magistrate (*ἄρχων ἐπεύθυνος*), which is forbidden by law; (2) it proposes to proclaim the crown in the theatre at the Great Dionysiac festival, whereas the law requires such a crown to be proclaimed elsewhere; (3) it violates the law forbidding the insertion of false statements into the public records, such false statements being found in the clauses of the bill which praise Demosthenes, especially

in the words ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα καὶ ἀνδραγαθίας,—ὅτι διατελεῖ καὶ λέγων καὶ πράττων τὰ ἀριστα τῷ δήμῳ,—and πρόθυμός ἐστι ποιῆν ὃ τι δύναται ἀγαθόν<sup>1</sup>. Aeschines, who must have felt the weakness of the vague charge of illegality in the last count, dwells with great energy and with his most powerful arguments on the first count, on which (so far as we can see) his position was legally unassailable. He shows beyond question that Demosthenes held two important offices at the time of Ctesiphon's proposal, for which he would still be responsible (ὑπεύθυνος) when the crown was proclaimed; and this would be illegal. He naturally puts this strong argument in the front of his attack. On his second point, the illegality of the proposed place of proclamation, the actual state of the law is uncertain, and we cannot judge of the strength of the argument. He then discusses the life and character of Demosthenes, to show that the statements on which Ctesiphon justifies his proposal to crown him are false and therefore illegal. After a few words of introduction, followed by a short account of the private life of Demosthenes, he treats of his public life at great length, under four heads (see 3). He occupies the remainder of his time in the discussion of various matters, aiming in all to show the falseness of the terms used by Ctesiphon. He urges the judges not to allow Ctesiphon to call on Demosthenes to plead his cause; or, if they permit Demosthenes to speak at all, to compel him to follow the same order of argument in the defence which he has himself adopted in the attack. This last would have compelled Demosthenes to reply in the beginning to the strong argument of Aeschines on the illegality of crowning a responsible magistrate; this Demosthenes has no idea of doing, as it would weaken his whole position before the court.

3. The argument of Aeschines, briefly stated, is as follows:

I. Prooemium: §§ 1—8.

II. Argument on the responsibility of magistrates: §§ 9—31.

III. Argument on the place of proclamation: §§ 32—48.

IV. Review of the Life of Demosthenes (§§ 49—167):—

1. Introduction: §§ 49, 50.

2. Private life of Demosthenes: §§ 51—53.

<sup>1</sup> See Aesch. III, 49, 237, Dem. Cor. 57, where the genuine decree professes to be quoted.

3. Four divisions of the Public Life of Demosthenes, §§ 54—57, discussed as follows:—

- (a) The Peace of Philocrates (346 B.C.): §§ 58—78.
- (b) The time of peace until the renewal of war with Philip in 340 B.C.: §§ 79—105.
- (c) The Amphisian War, and other events ending with the Battle of Chaeronea in 338 B.C.: §§ 106—158.
- (d) The time from 338 to 330 B.C. (the year of the trial): §§ 159—167.

V. Discussion of various points in the life and character of Demosthenes, and general arguments: §§ 168—259.

VI. Peroration: § 260.

4. It might seem natural for Demosthenes to reply to the three charges of the indictment in regular succession. But this would have sacrificed the argumentative power of his speech to mere simplicity of arrangement. If he had followed the order of Aeschines, and dealt first with the question of his responsibility as a magistrate, he would have begun his argument at its weakest point, on which he had nothing to say which really answered the cogent legal argument of Aeschines. Nothing could have been worse for his case than this. If, on the other hand, he had introduced this matter after the discussion of his public life, the weakness of his conclusion would have injured (perhaps fatally) the effect of his previous argument. It was important, therefore, to bring in this weaker argument between two divisions of his historical statement, and thus conceal its defects<sup>1</sup>. He could not make a *single* break in his narrative and there introduce this foreign subject without making his design too obvious. But he artfully divides his account of his public life into *three* parts, for plausible reasons, which do not suggest his real object. In § 9 he complains of

<sup>1</sup> Libanius saw this artful device: see his *Hypothesis*, § 6: ὁ δὲ ῥήτωρ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς πολιτείας τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐποιήσατο καὶ πάλιν εἰς ταύτην τὸν λόγον κατέστρεψε, τεχνικῶς ποιῶν· δεῖ γὰρ ἀρχεσθαι τε ἀπὸ τῶν ἰσχυροτέρων καὶ λήγειν εἰς ταῦτα· μέσα δὲ τέθεικε τὰ περὶ τῶν νόμων. See also the second *Hypothesis*, § 5: τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἄλλους δύο νόμους, τὸν τε τῶν ὑπευθύνων καὶ τὸν τοῦ κηρύγματος, εἰς τὸ μέσον τοῦ λόγου ἀπέριψε, στρατηγικῶς “κακοὺς ἐς μέσσον ἐλάσας” (see II. iv. 299), τῷ δὲ ἰσχυροτάτῳ εἰς τὰ ἄκρα προσκέχρηται, τὸ σαθρὸν τῶν ἄλλων ἐξ ἐκατέρου ῥωγῆς.

the charges "foreign to the indictment" (*ἐξω τῆς γραφῆς*, § 34) which Aeschines has brought against him; and to these he proposes to reply before he comes to the charges which properly belong to the case. Under this head he puts the charges relating to the Peace of Philocrates (346 B.C.), and he proceeds at once to deal with the negotiations which led to this event. He would never have thought of omitting this important matter, in which later events had triumphantly vindicated his own course of action; and his indignation at Aeschines for bringing it into the case is all feigned. He is thus able to tell the story of this important period of his public life before he begins the real argument (as he represents it), even before the reading of the indictment. This has the effect of securing the goodwill of the court for himself and damaging the case of Aeschines in advance, by an eloquent harangue on a subject which (he claims) has been unfairly brought into the case (§§ 17—52).

5. After the reading of the indictment and a few general remarks upon this document, he proceeds (§§ 60—101) to a general defence of his policy of opposition to Philip, and of the course taken by Athens under his leadership before the renewal of the war with Philip in 340. He then speaks of his own trierarchic reform (§§ 102—109), and now (§ 110) declares that he has brought forward sufficient evidence to justify the language of Ctesiphon's decree in his praise. He states that he is here omitting the most important of his public acts (those concerning the alliance with Thebes and the other events which preceded the battle of Chaeronea), and he leaves it doubtful whether he will speak of these hereafter. He really has not the slightest intention of omitting these most important events, in which he gained the greatest diplomatic triumph of his life; but he postpones them until he can introduce them later as an offset to the acts of Aeschines done in Philip's interest, where the account of them forms the most eloquent passage in the oration (§§ 160—226). By this skilful plan he gains two important objects. First, he divides the account of his political life into three parts, and avoids wearying the judges by telling the whole story (covering eight most eventful years) in one continuous narrative, in which it would have been far less effective. Secondly, he succeeds in introducing his replies to the arguments *περὶ τοῦ παρὰ νόμου* (§ 110) just after one exciting historic narrative and just before another, where they are least conspicuous, and where the weak-

ness of the reply on the *εἰθυαί* is soon forgotten amid the exciting events which led to Chaeronea. The three courses of events thus divided are so naturally distinct, that nothing is lost by their division to be compared with the double gain.

6. The following is the course of the argument in the oration on the Crown<sup>1</sup>.

I. Prooemium: §§ 1—8.

II. Reply to charges foreign to the indictment (§§ 9—52):—

1. Introduction: § 9.
2. Charges against private life: §§ 10, 11.
3. Public policy (§§ 12—52):—
  - A. Introductory: §§ 12—16.
  - B. Peace of Philocrates (§§ 17—52):—
    - (a) Introductory: § 17.
    - (b) Narrative: §§ 18—49.
    - (c) Conclusion: §§ 50—52.

III. Reply to the charges of the indictment (§§ 53—125):—

1. Introductory: §§ 53—59.
2. Defence of his public policy (confined chiefly to the period from 346 to 340 B.C.) and of his trierarchic law: §§ 60—109.
3. Reply to charge of responsibility as a magistrate: §§ 110—119.
4. Reply to argument about the place of proclamation: §§ 120, 121.
5. Conclusion: §§ 122—125.

IV. Life and character of Aeschines: and his public policy in the interest of Philip, compared with his own agency in negotiating an alliance with Thebes against Philip (§§ 126—226):

1. Parentage and life of Aeschines: §§ 126—131.
2. Lesser political offences of Aeschines: §§ 132—138.

<sup>1</sup> The subject of each of the seven main divisions is stated with greater detail in the notes where the division begins. See the remarks which precede the notes on §§ 1, 9, 53, 126, 227, 297, 324.

3. The Amphisian War, stirred up by the speech of Aeschines at Delphi (339 B.C.): §§ 139—159.
4. Negotiation of Theban alliance by Demosthenes (339—338 B.C.),—continuation of narrative interrupted at § 110. Into this account is introduced (§§ 189—210) a defence of the whole policy of Athens, under his leadership, in opposition to Philip: §§ 160—226.

With § 226 the defence of Ctesiphon, properly so called, is finished. The orator has reviewed his whole political life and has justified the language of Ctesiphon's decree; and he has replied briefly to the other charges of illegality. In the time which remains he discusses other matters suggested by the speech of Aeschines.

V. Replies to three arguments of Aeschines (§§ 227—296):—

1. Discussion of the comparison (Aeschines 59—61) of the case against Demosthenes to an account of money expended: §§ 227—251.
2. Reply to the remarks of Aeschines upon his "bad fortune," and comparison of his own fortune with that of Aeschines: §§ 252—275.
3. Reply to the charge of being a crafty rhetorician: §§ 276—296.

VI. The Epilogue follows, in which he compares himself with Aeschines, protesting against the comparison of himself with the heroes of the past. There is also a recapitulation of some matters already discussed: §§ 297—323.

VII. The Peroration, in a single earnest sentence, is an appeal to the Gods for help to Athens in her humiliation: § 324.

*Remarks on the Argument of §§ 120, 121.*

(1) In these sections Demosthenes replies briefly, but with wrathful indignation, to the elaborate argument of Aeschines (32—48) about the place of proclamation. He simply quotes a few words from a law, which was read entire to the court, and then bursts out in triumphant invective against Aeschines for his audacity in suppressing the one important clause *in this law* in presenting it before the court. Unfortunately we have only a fragment of the law presented by Demosthenes; but this must be authentic: *πλὴν ἐάν τις αὖ δὲ δῆμος ἢ ἡ βουλὴ ψηφίσῃται· τούτους δ' ἀναγορεύτω*. It

must have been a clause which did not make the passionate outbreak which followed appear ridiculous to the court. On the other hand, we cannot for a moment believe that Aeschines (32) produced a law requiring those who were crowned by the Senate or by the Assembly to be crowned before those bodies and nowhere else, and actually suppressed a clause of *that very law*, which allowed either Senate or Assembly to make an exception to the law at its pleasure. When we remember that this mutilated law must have been quoted in the indictment, read to the court by its clerk after being submitted to the scrutiny of the presiding Thesmothetae at the anacrisis, and also posted in the court-room (see note on § 111<sup>2</sup>), we cannot ascribe such audacity even to Aeschines, or such careless indifference at once to six archons, the court, and its officers.

(2) I think we must assume (*a*) that Aeschines quoted a law forbidding the proclamation in the theatre, and that *this law* had no such addition as Demosthenes appears to make to it, and (*b*) that Demosthenes quoted another law, which (as he claimed) applied to the same cases but had the proviso *ἐὰν μὴ* (or *πλὴν ἐάν*) *τινας ὁ δῆμος ἢ ἡ βουλὴ ψηφίσῃται*, etc. This supposes a conflict of laws, or at least two laws which could be harmonized only by a forced interpretation. The elaborate argument of Aeschines (37—39), to prove that no such conflict could occur in the Athenian laws, at once makes us suspect that this is the real solution. Even he admits that such conflicts *might* sometimes occur, *κἀν τι τοιοῦτον εὕρισκωσιν* (39). What now was the law which Demosthenes brought before the court? It must have been the Dionysiac law, which Aeschines *predicts* (35) that Demosthenes will bring into the case.

(3) Aeschines thus describes this law in 44: *διαρρήδην ἀπαγορεύει μήτ' οἰκέτην ἀπελευθεροῦν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, μήθ' ὑπὸ τῶν φυλετῶν ἡ δημοτῶν ἀναγορεύεσθαι στεφανούμενον μήθ' ὑπ' ἄλλου (φησὶ) μηδεὸς, ἢ ἀτιμον εἶναι τὸν κήρυκα*. He argues that the words *μήθ' ὑπ' ἄλλου μηδεὸς* cannot apply to any except foreign crowns, and then (47) adds: *καὶ διὰ τοῦτο προσέθηκεν ὁ νομοθέτης μὴ κηρύττεσθαι τὸν ἀλλότριον στέφανον ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ ἐὰν μὴ ψηφίσῃται ὁ δῆμος*. It will be noticed that he does not quote the last clause (*ἐὰν...δῆμος*) in connection with the law itself in 44, but only after *his own* interpretation of the law in 47. This is of itself suspicious, as it conceals the only important point, the exact relation of this clause to the rest of the law. Now the clause in 47, *μὴ κηρύττεσθαι τὸν ἀλλότριον στέφανον ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ*, is certainly no part of the law, for with this the law could need no interpretation. Further, the authentic words following *πλὴν ἐὰν...ψηφίσῃται* in Demosthenes (121), *τούτους δ' ἀναγορευέτω*, have no sense if added to these words in Aeschines (47). They have, however, a very significant meaning if added to *ἢ ἀτιμον εἶναι τὸν κήρυκα* in Aeschines (44), supplying

ὁ κήρυξ as the subject of the imperative. Now the last part of Aeschines 44 and εἰν μὴ ψηφίσῃται ὁ δῆμος in 47 are the only real quotations from the Dionysiac law in Aeschines, and πλὴν εἰν τινὰς...ἀγορευέτω is evidently a quotation from the law read by Demosthenes (121). If we fit these together, we have the most probable reconstruction of the Dionysiac law as it was presented by Demosthenes, as follows:—μὴτ' οἰκέτην ἀπελευθεροῦν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, μὴθ' ὑπὸ τῶν φυλετῶν ἢ δημοτῶν ἀναγορευέσθαι στεφανούμενον μὴθ' ὑπ' ἄλλου μηδενὸς, ἢ ἄτιμον εἶναι τὸν κήρυκα, πλὴν εἰν τινὰς ὁ δῆμος ἢ ἡ βουλὴ ψηφίσῃται, τούτους δ' ἀναγορευέτω. This might easily have been read to the court in opposition to the other law read by order of Aeschines: and, so far as we can see, Demosthenes was justified in assuming that μὴθ' ὑπ' ἄλλου μηδενὸς referred to all who had crowns to confer, not excluding the Senate and the Assembly.

(4) This explanation becomes much simpler if we suppose that all the confused talk about the Dionysiac law in Aeschines is an addition to his speech made after hearing the reply of Demosthenes. It seems incredible that Demosthenes could ignore so elaborate an argument as that of Aeschines (35—48) in his reply and merely quote "the law" as if there were but one. The court would never have been satisfied with so contemptuous an answer, which took no notice of the account of the Dionysiac law which they had just heard.

One fact is now made certain by inscriptions: whatever may have been the letter of the law against proclamation in the theatre, such proclamations were very frequent at Athens in the fourth century B.C., and earlier and later. The law was a dead letter, and Demosthenes was justified in making light of this part of the accusation. See note on Cor. § 120<sup>2</sup>.

## II.

### *Ἡ γραφὴ παρανόμων.*

1. The Athenian *γραφὴ παρανόμων*, or *indictment for proposing illegal measures*, could be brought by any citizen against one who was charged with proposing a decree (*ψήφισμα*) which violated a law (*νόμος*), or with causing the enactment of a law which was opposed to an existing law without expressly providing for the repeal of the latter. The laws (*νόμοι*) of Athens were a comparatively fixed code, ascribed generally to Solon, but consisting of the original Solonic laws, enlarged and otherwise modified by succeeding enactments. These were

superior to the enactments of the Senate and the Assembly and were not subject to repeal or modification by these bodies. An enactment of the Senate and Assembly, the ordinary legislative bodies (in the modern sense of the term), was called a *decree* or *ψήφισμα*. This could legally contain no provisions which were opposed to a *νόμος*, and any such provision made it void. The *γραφὴ παρανόμων* was the simple but efficient process provided by the Attic law for causing an "illegal" decree or law to be annulled, and also for punishing the proposer. The mover, however, could be held personally responsible only for one year from the time of the proposal of a decree or the enactment of a law; after a year the decree or law could be attacked and annulled by the same process, while the mover was exposed to no risk. Whoever brought a *γραφὴ παρανόμων* was required to bind himself publicly by an oath (called *ὑπωμοσία*) to prosecute the case; after this oath was taken, a decree or law was suspended if it had already been enacted, and a decree which had passed only the Senate (a *προβούλευμα*) could not be brought before the Assembly for action until the suit had been tried and settled in favour of the defendant. (See note on Cor. § 103<sup>7</sup>.) It is probable that the *γραφὴ παρανόμων* could be brought against a *νόμος* only after its actual enactment, while it could be brought against a *ψήφισμα* at any one of three stages: (1) after its acceptance by the Senate, (2) after passing the Assembly, (3) after the lapse of a year from its proposal.

2. The distinction between a *νόμος* and a *ψήφισμα* at Athens was most important. A *ψήφισμα* was an enactment of the Senate and Assembly, which, if it was not in conflict with a *νόμος*, had the full force of a law. A *νόμος* could be changed only by an elaborate process, which was chiefly under the control of a court of law. In the first Assembly in each year a general question was put to the people, whether they would permit propositions to be made for changes in the laws. If the people voted to permit these, all who had such proposals to make were required to post them in the market-place, and the clerk of the Assembly read the proposals to the people in each of the two following meetings. In the last of these meetings (the third of the year), the people, if they saw fit, voted to refer the proposed changes to a special commission, called *νομοθέται*, chosen like an ordinary court (*δικαστήριον*) from those who were qualified to sit as judges for that year and had taken the Heliastic oath. The whole

proceeding before this board was conducted according to the forms of law. The proposer of the new law appeared as plaintiff and argued his case against the old law and for his own proposal, while advocates appointed by the state defended the existing law. The question of enacting the new law or retaining the existing one was decided by a vote of the *νομοθέται*, which, if favourable to the new law, made that one of the fixed code of *νόμοι*. It was strictly commanded by the Solonic law, that no new law should be enacted unless all laws opposed to it were expressly repealed; and, further, that no law should be repealed unless a new law were proposed, and accepted by the *νομοθέται* as suitable and fitting (*ἐπιτήδειος*) to take its place.

3. It was natural, as the democracy increased in power, that the distinction between decrees and laws should be neglected, and that the sovereign people should pass decrees which usurped the functions of laws and violated the spirit, if not the letter, of existing laws. Against this dangerous tendency the *γραφὴ παρανόμων* was the only legal security. We cannot wonder, therefore, that this is extolled as the great stronghold of constitutional liberty, the chief protection of free government against lawless demagogues. Even Aeschines, who was doing as much as any man to degrade the process, speaks of it as we speak of the *habeas corpus*<sup>1</sup>. It is significant that one of the first steps taken by the oligarchs who established the government of Four Hundred in 411 B.C. was the suspension of the *γραφὴ παρανόμων*<sup>2</sup>.

4. The principle upon which the *γραφὴ παρανόμων* is based must always be recognized wherever the legislative power is limited by a superior code of laws or a written constitution to which all its enactments must conform. In such a case the allegiance of every citizen is due, first and foremost, to the superior law, as the supreme law of the land, and he cannot legally be compelled to obey the lower enactment. But as each citizen cannot be allowed to decide for himself whether an act of the legislature is or is not in harmony with the superior law,

<sup>1</sup> See Aesch. III. 3—8: ἐν ὑπολείπεται μέρος τῆς πολιτείας, αἱ τῶν παρανόμων γραφαί. εἰ δὲ ταύτας καταλύσετε, ... προλέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι λήσετε κατὰ μικρὸν τῆς πολιτείας τισὶ παραχωρήσαντες (5). See the whole passage.

<sup>2</sup> Thuc. VIII. 67: ἐσήνεγκαν ἄλλα μὲν οὐδὲν, αὐτὸ δὲ τοῦτο, ἐξεῖναι μὲν ἀδήμον εἰπεῖν γνώμην ἣν ἂν τις βούληται· ἣν δὲ τις τὸν εἰπόντα ἢ γράψῃται παρανόμων ἢ ἄλλω τῷ τρόπῳ βλάβῃ, μεγάλας ζημίας ἐπέθεσαν. So Aristot. Pol. Ath. 29<sup>23</sup>.

the decision must be entrusted to some tribunal which has authority to prevent a citizen from suffering unjustly if he disobeys an illegal enactment, and also to prevent the law from being disobeyed at the caprice of individuals.

5. This principle was first recognized, so far as we know, in the Athenian *γραφὴ παρανόμων*. Precisely the same principle is at the basis of what is now known as "the American doctrine of Constitutional Law," under which the Supreme Court of the United States has the power to declare acts of Congress or of the state legislatures unconstitutional and to treat them as without authority<sup>1</sup>. The Constitution of the United States is declared in one of its own articles to be "the supreme law of the land," to which all legislation of Congress and of the several states must conform. To enable the Supreme Court to act on a constitutional question, a case must come before it in the ordinary course of litigation, generally when a person who feels aggrieved by the operation of a law which he believes to be unconstitutional appeals from the decision of a lower court on this point and thus brings the constitutional question directly before the Supreme Court.

6. In the comparison which we are making, the decrees of the Athenian Senate and Assembly correspond to the laws of the U.S. Congress or of the state legislatures, and the Solonic laws of Athens to the U.S. Constitution. But this comparison regards only the relation of authority between the two codes in either case. The Solonic code dealt with all manner of details, while the U.S. Constitution is chiefly confined to broad statements of general principles. Further, it may seem strange to compare the solemn action of the U.S. Supreme Court in deciding a question of constitutional law with the trial of a citizen at Athens, before a court consisting of 501, 1001, or 1501 ordinary men, chosen by lot from the great body of citizens, for proposing an unconstitutional decree or law. But the fundamental principle is the same in both. Both courts have the same duty to perform, that of deciding whether a given enactment is or is not in conflict with a superior code. Athens, like the United States, assigned

<sup>1</sup> The Supreme Courts of the several states have the same right of declaring unconstitutional and null acts of their own state legislatures, as conflicting with either the state constitution or the U.S. Constitution.

this duty to the highest court in her judicial system. When we come to the details, the differences are more striking. The most serious fault in the Athenian process was its personal character as a criminal suit, which any citizen could bring directly before the court, and the liability of the defendant to be punished at the discretion of the court by a fine or even by death. This of course embittered the whole process, which tended to degenerate into a vituperative quarrel of rival litigants. This evil was to a great extent removed after the expiration of a year, when the process became a sober and dignified trial of a legal question, the nominal defendant being now exposed to no personal risk. We may fairly compare the arguments addressed to the judges in such cases (as in that of Leptines), after making due allowance for the composition of the court, with those addressed to modern judges in similar cases.

7. Even in the ordinary criminal process we notice a marked difference between the older cases of *γραφὴ παρανόμων* in which Demosthenes appears as counsel for the plaintiff and the process against Ctesiphon as it is managed by Aeschines. The speeches of Demosthenes against Androtion (355 B.C.), Timocrates (353—352), Aristocrates (352), like that against Leptines (355), are in great part legal arguments of high character, showing great legal knowledge, and delivered with dignity and authority. This is especially true of the discussion of the Draconic law of homicide in the oration against Aristocrates (§§ 18—94), which is our chief authority for this important department of Attic law. But when we come from these legal arguments to the speech of Aeschines against Ctesiphon, we are struck at once, in the greater part of it, by the almost total absence of all that makes the *γραφὴ παρανόμων* worthy of its name. Aeschines devotes less than a tenth of his speech to a strictly legal argument, that on the responsibility of Demosthenes as a magistrate; this is the strongest point in his argument, and he elaborates it with great skill and cogent reasoning. He also speaks more briefly of another legal point, the question of the place of proclamation; but this concerns a law of which we have very little knowledge. The greater part of the speech is taken up with a most absurd attempt to connect his general account of the public life and the character of Demosthenes with his legal argument. He charges the references to Demosthenes in Ctesiphon's decree, in which he is said to seek the best interests of Athens in all

that he says and does, with violating the law *forbidding the falsification of the public records*! It is absurd to suppose that the law in question had any reference to a case like this: for this would have exposed every personal compliment in a laudatory decree to public prosecution at any one's will. It clearly related to malicious and fraudulent falsification of the public records in the Metroum by adding, erasing, or changing. And yet this is brought forward soberly and earnestly by Aeschines as a legal argument in support of his indictment. Of course Demosthenes, as the defendant's advocate, was bound to reply to the plaintiff's argument, so that we cannot fairly compare this later with his earlier treatment of the *γραφὴ παρανόμων*. But the case against Ctesiphon, as Aeschines presents it, is in striking contrast to the cases against Leptines, Aristocrates, and others as Demosthenes presents them.

### III.

#### *The Suit against Ctesiphon.*

1. Late in the year of Chaerondas (June 337 B.C.) Demosthenes proposed and carried a measure for permanent repairs of the walls of Athens. The hasty work done under the excitement of the defeat at Chaeronea had been only temporary. A commission of ten *τειχοποιοί*, one to be appointed by each tribe, was now established, to hold office during the following year, that of Phrynichus, 337—336 B.C.<sup>1</sup> Demosthenes was chosen by his own tribe, the Pandionis, to be one of this commission. The fortifications of the Piraeus were assigned him as his special charge, and he is said to have received ten talents from the state to be used in the work, to which he added a substantial amount on his own account, usually stated as a hundred minas

<sup>1</sup> Aesch. III. 27. As Ctesiphon's bill proposed to crown Demosthenes during his year of office, and as the bill was indicted shortly after it passed the Senate, the bill and the indictment belong to the year of Phrynichus (337—336). This agrees with the statement of Aeschines (219) that he brought the indictment before Philip's death (summer of 336), and with other data. This chronology was once hopelessly confused by the date in the spurious indictment in Cor. § 54.

(1½ talents). He also held the important office of superintendent of the Theoric Fund, which Aeschines says at that time included "nearly the whole administration of the state<sup>1</sup>." It was gratitude for his great public services in these offices and for his generous gift, together with the increasing confidence in his statesmanship and patriotism, which had recently been expressed in his appointment to deliver the funeral oration on those who fell at Chaeronea, that caused his political friends to propose to crown him in the theatre at the Great Dionysia in the spring of 336, as a mark of the public approbation of his whole political life.

2. Ctesiphon accordingly proposed a bill in the Senate to crown Demosthenes with a golden crown for his services and generosity in his two offices and for his life devoted to the interests of Athens. The bill passed the Senate at once, and it would doubtless have passed the Assembly with equal alacrity if it could have been brought to a vote there. Before it could be presented to the people, Aeschines brought a *γραφὴ παρανόμων* against Ctesiphon, charging his bill with illegality. This made it impossible to carry the measure further until the lawsuit was settled. For reasons of which we are not informed, but in which both Aeschines and Ctesiphon as well as Demosthenes must have acquiesced, the trial was postponed more than six years, until August 330. The destruction of the Persian Empire after the battle of Arbela (Oct. 1, 331 B.C.), when Darius was a fugitive and Alexander was at the summit of his glory, probably seemed to Aeschines a good occasion to revive his suit. He must have felt that no time could be more favourable for a judgment against Demosthenes; while Demosthenes naturally felt that shrinking from the trial would imply want of confidence in the goodwill of his fellow citizens, of which he was constantly receiving most flattering tokens. For these or other reasons, this famous case came before the Heliastic court, under the presidency of the six Thesmothetae, in the late summer, probably in August, 330 B.C.<sup>2</sup> We do not know the number

<sup>1</sup> Aesch. III. 25, 26.

<sup>2</sup> We have several independent data which fix this time. (1) See Dion. Hal. ad Amm. I. 12 (p. 746): οὗτος (the speech on the Crown) γὰρ μόνος εἰς δικαστήριον εἰσελήλυθεν μετὰ τὸν πόλεμον (the campaign of Chaeronea), ἐπ' Ἀριστοφῶντος ἀρχόντος (330—329), ὃ γδὲ μὲν ἐνιαυτῷ μετὰ τὴν ἐν Χαιρώνειᾳ μάχην (338), ἔκτω δὲ μετὰ τὴν Φιλίππου τελευτὴν (336), καθ' ὃν χρόνον

of the judges. A δικαστήριον commonly consisted of 501; but we hear of 1001, 1501, and 2001, and in so important a case one of the larger courts was likely to be impanelled. The long-delayed trial brought to Athens great numbers of visitors from all parts of Greece, who were eager to witness this final contest between the rival orators. It can hardly be doubted that the crowd of listeners were as deeply moved by the earnest eloquence of Demosthenes as the judges, and that they would gladly have followed the court in giving him more than four-fifths of their votes.

3. The day was divided into three parts for the trial of a γραφή παρανόμων, an equal amount of water being poured into the clepsydra for the plaintiff and the defendant, and a third (a smaller amount), in case of the conviction of the defendant, for the assessment of the penalty (τίμης)<sup>1</sup>. The largest amount of water which is mentioned is that assigned to each plea in the γραφή παραπροσβείας (11 ἀμφορεῖς, about 100 gallons), and this is probably the maximum<sup>2</sup>. The speech of Demosthenes against Aeschines in this suit (xix.) is the longest that we have. That on the Crown is shorter, but much longer than any of the others delivered in a γραφή παρανόμων; and we may presume that the orator here used all of his time. Aeschines, as plaintiff, spoke first; after his argument, the court called on Ctesiphon, as defendant, to reply. He probably repeated a short speech composed for him by Demosthenes, and then asked leave of the court to call on Demosthenes, as his advocate, to finish his defence<sup>3</sup>. Strictly, each

Ἀλέξανδρος τὴν ἐν Ἀρβήλοις ἐνίκα μάχην. This places the date after mid-summer 330 B.C. (2) The year 330—329 began June 28 (Boeckh, Mond-cyclen, p. 43). The death of Darius occurred in Hecatombaeon (i.e. July) of this year: Arrian III. 22<sup>2</sup>. The news of this had not come to Athens before the trial, as Aeschines (132) speaks of him as a fugitive. This would not allow the trial to be later than August. (3) Again, Aeschines (254) says, ἡμερῶν μὲν ὀλίγων μέλλει τὰ Πύθια γίγνεσθαι. The Pythian games came in the third year of each Olympiad, near the end of the Delphic month Βουκάτιος, which corresponds to the second month of the Attic year (Metageitnion). This would place the trial after the middle of August.

<sup>1</sup> Aesch. III. 197; Harpocration under διαμετρημένη ἡμέρα.

<sup>2</sup> Id. II. 126: πρὸς ἑνδεκα γὰρ ἀμφορέας ἐν διαμετρημένῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ κρίνομαι.

<sup>3</sup> Id. III. 201: ἐπειδὴν προελθὼν ἐνταυθοῖ Κτησιφῶν διεξέλθῃ πρὸς ὑμᾶς τοῦτο δὴ τὸ συντεταγμένον αὐτῷ προῖμον.

party to the suit was required to plead his own cause; or, if he called in advocates, as Aeschines summoned Eubulus, Phocion, and others to support him in the suit for false legation, to do this at the end of an elaborate argument of his own. But here, as Demosthenes was the real defendant, it would have been absurd to object to his arguing the case in full. That the procedure was unusual is shown by the audacious attempt of Aeschines to induce the court to refuse Demosthenes a hearing<sup>1</sup>; and his argument shows that the court had a legal right to refuse to hear any except the parties to the suit. But the great audience had not come to hear Ctesiphon, and we hear of no further attempt to interfere with the argument of Demosthenes. The orator probably delivered his famous speech substantially in the form in which it has come down to us.

4. When the arguments were finished, the judges voted on the question of convicting Ctesiphon; and the result was his triumphant acquittal by more than four-fifths of the votes<sup>2</sup>. This subjected Aeschines to the two penalties of malicious prosecution, a fine of a thousand drachmas, and partial *ἀτιμία*, which deprived him of the right to bring a similar suit hereafter<sup>3</sup>. This result mortified him so deeply that he withdrew from Athens and spent the rest of his life chiefly in Rhodes, where he is said to have been a teacher of rhetoric in his later

<sup>1</sup> Aesch. III. 202—205.

<sup>2</sup> Plut. Dem. 24: οὕτω λαμπρῶς ἀπέλυσαν ὥστε τὸ πέμπτον μέρος τῶν ψήφων Αἰσχίνην μὴ μεταλαβεῖν. Cf. Dem. Cor. 82, 266.

<sup>3</sup> Harpocr. under *ἐάν τις*: ἐάν τις γραψάμενος μὴ μεταλάβῃ τὸ πέμπτον μέρος τῶν ψήφων, ὀφλισκάνει χιλίας καὶ πρόσσεστιν ἀτιμία τις. Theophrastus (in Schol. to Dem. p. 593, 24 R.) adds to this (explaining *ἀτιμία*) ὅσον τὸ ἐξεῖναι μῆτε γράψασθαι παρὰ νόμων μῆτε φάλναι μῆτε ἐφηγεῖσθαι. But see Andoc. I. 76, ἐτέροις οὐκ ἦν γράψασθαι, τοῖς δὲ ἐνδείξει, where γράψασθαι seems to include all *γραφαί*. See also [Dem.] XXVI. 9, ὅταν τις ἐπεξιών μὴ μεταλάβῃ τὸ πέμπτον μέρος τῶν ψήφων, ἐφ' οἷς οἱ νόμοι κελεύουσι τὸ λοιπὸν μὴ γράφεσθαι μηδ' ἀπάγειν μηδ' ἐφηγεῖσθαι. These quotations leave the precise nature of the partial *ἀτιμία* somewhat uncertain. But Theophrastus seems to mean that the *ἀτιμος* lost his right to bring the same form of ordinary *γραφή* in which he had been defeated (of which he gives the *γραφὴ παρανόμων* as an example), or any one of the special forms of *γραφή* (in the wider sense), like *εἰσαγγελία*, *φάσις*, *ἐφήγησις*, etc. See the full enumeration of *γραφαί* in Pollux, 40, 41.

years<sup>1</sup>. After such a decisive vindication of Demosthenes, there can be no doubt that his friends renewed in the Senate the bill for crowning him, and that this was promptly passed in both Senate and Assembly in time for the orator to receive his golden crown with enthusiastic applause at the Great Dionysia of 329.

## IV.

*The trials of Aeschines and Philocrates for misconduct in making the Peace of 346 B.C.*

I. The trial of Aeschines in 343 B.C.<sup>2</sup> for his conduct on the second embassy, which negotiated the peace with Philip in 346, and the speech of Demosthenes as his accuser, have an important bearing on the discussions of the peace in the orations of Aeschines and Demosthenes thirteen years later. The suit against Aeschines was technically called *εὔθυναί*, i.e. a process arising from the *εὔθυναί* or

<sup>1</sup> Plut. Dem. 24: *εὐθὺς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ᾗχετ' ἀπὼν, καὶ περὶ Ῥόδον καὶ Ἰωνίαν σοφιστεῶν κατεβίωσε*. Vit. X. Orat. 840 D: *ἀπάρας εἰς τὴν Ῥόδον, ἐνταῦθα σχολὴν καταστήσάμενος ἐδίδασκεν*. While teaching at Rhodes, Aeschines is said to have read his speech against Ctesiphon to a Rhodian audience; and when all were astonished that he was defeated after so eloquent a plea, he replied, *οὐκ ἂν ἐθαυμάζετε, Ῥόδιοι, εἰ πρὸς ταῦτα Δημοσθένους λέγοντος ἠκούσατε*. Vit. X. Orat. *ibid.* Other versions of the story give his answer, *εἰ ἠκούσατε τοῦ θηρίου ἐκείνου, οὐκ ἂν ὑμῖν τοῦτο ἠπρόρητο*. See Phot. Bibl. No. 61.

<sup>2</sup> Dionys. ad Amm. I. 10 (p. 737), under the archonship of Pythodotus (343—342): *καὶ τὸν κατ' Αἰσχίνου συνετάξατο λόγῳ, ὅτε τὰς εὐθύνas ἐδίδου τῆς δευτέρας πρεσβείας τῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς ὄρκους*. Hypoth. 2, § 11, to Dem. XIX.: *μαθόντες οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν τῶν Φωκέων ἀπώλειαν, ... μετὰ τρία ἔτη εἰσῆλθεν ὁ Δημοσθένης κατηγορήσων Αἰσχίνου*. It has often been doubted whether the case ever came to trial, chiefly because of a doubt of Plutarch (Dem. 15), *ὁ δὲ κατ' Αἰσχίνου τῆς παραπρεσβείας ἄδελον εἰ λέλεκται· καίτοι φησὶν Ἰδομενεὺς παρὰ τριάκοντα μόνas τὸν Αἰσχίνην ἀποφυγεῖν*. For Plutarch's objection, that neither orator mentions the trial in the speeches on the Crown, see note on Cor. 142<sup>b</sup>. See also note 3, p. 277.

scrutiny which Aeschines, as an officer of state, was required to pass before he could be relieved of his responsibility as an ambassador<sup>1</sup>. Within thirty days after the return of the second embassy to Athens (13 Scirophorion, 7 July, 346), Aeschines must have presented himself for his εὔθυνα. Demosthenes and Timarchus, with perhaps others, there appeared against him with a γραφή παραπροσβείας, an indictment for misconduct on an embassy<sup>2</sup>. The presiding Logistae, who had the presidency also in this suit, would naturally have brought the case at once before a Heliastic court. But before this could be done, Aeschines challenged the right of Timarchus to appear as an accuser in the courts, on the ground that he had once led a shameless life (αἰσχρῶς βεβιωκέναι). He served upon him publicly an ἐπαγγελία δοκιμασίας, i.e. a summons to appear at a δοκιμασία ῥητόρων, an investigation of his right to appear as a ῥήτωρ<sup>3</sup>. He charged him with ἐταιρήσεις and also with squandering his paternal estate, both of which disqualified a man from appearing as a speaker in either the Assembly or the courts of law. This case came to trial early in 345 B.C., and Timarchus was easily convicted. Aeschines then delivered the first of his three orations. This result suspended the case against himself for a time; and by disgracefully disqualifying one of his accusers, discredited the case in the eyes of the people. It is strange that such a man as Timarchus was allowed to be associated with Demosthenes in so important a political suit, and it soon appeared that this was a most fatal mistake.

2. This mortifying rebuff put off the trial more than two years. In the meantime the friends of Demosthenes prepared the way for a renewal of his suit against Aeschines, by a state prosecution of Philocrates for treasonable conduct in negotiating the peace which bore his name. Early in 343 B.C. Hyperides brought before the Senate of Five Hundred an εἰσαγγελία against Philocrates, charging him with

<sup>1</sup> See Dem. XIX. 17, ἐκ τῆς πρεσβείας ταύτης, ἥσπερ εἰσιν αἱ νῦν εὔθυναί, and 82, 133, 256.

<sup>2</sup> Hypoth. 2, § 10, to Dem. XIX.: ἐπέστη Τιμαρχος καὶ Δημοσθένους κατὰ γορήσοντες τοῦτον.

<sup>3</sup> Aesch. I. 19, 20, 28—32: τίνας δ' οὐκ ᾤετο δεῖν λέγειν; τοὺς αἰσχρῶς βεβιωκότας· τοὺτους οὐκ ἐᾷ δημηγορεῖν.—δοκιμασία ῥητόρων, ἐάν τις λέγῃ ἐν τῷ δήμῳ τὸν πατέρα τύπτων ἢ τὴν μητέρα... ἢ πεπορνευμένος ἢ ἡταιρηκώς,... ἢ τὰ πατρῶα κατεδηδοκώς. Cf. I. 154.

serving Philip for bribes to the detriment of Athens. The Senate accepted the *εἰσαγγελία*, thus making the suit a public one<sup>1</sup>. It went for trial to a Heliastic court, and the state appointed advocates, among them Demosthenes, to assist Hyperides in managing the case. In his indictment (called *εἰσαγγελία*) Hyperides quoted verbatim five or six decrees of Philocrates in support of his charge<sup>2</sup>. There was no lack of decisive evidence. Philocrates had made an open show of his newly acquired wealth after the peace, by building houses, selling wheat, transporting timber, changing foreign gold openly at the bankers' counters in Athens; and (according to Demosthenes) he had even confessed that he received money from Philip<sup>3</sup>. He gave up his defence, and left the court and Athens before the judgment was declared; and in his absence he was condemned to death, the penalty which Hyperides proposed in his *εἰσαγγελία*. He passed the rest of his life in exile<sup>4</sup>. This result shows how public opinion about the peace had changed in three years, so that Philocrates, whose word was law when the peace was made, was now left to his fate, friendless and helpless. No man of influence, like Eubulus, attempted to save him; and we hear of no anxiety lest his condemnation should cause enmity with Philip. Demosthenes, as prosecuting attorney for the state, complained that Philocrates alone was selected for prosecution while others equally guilty were left untouched<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> See note on Cor. § 250<sup>2</sup>. The state process called *εἰσαγγελία* was provided for the special trial of (1) those charged with conspiracy against the democracy of Athens, (2) those charged with betraying towns or military or naval forces to public enemies, or with holding treasonable communication with these, (3) orators (*ρήτορας*) charged with being bribed by public enemies to give evil advice to the people. See Hyper. Eux. §§ 7, 8. It will be seen that *εἰσαγγελία*, so far from being applicable chiefly (or only) to crimes which were not provided for in the laws (as was once believed), is definitely restricted to certain high offences, all of which, moreover, might be dealt with by other processes, as is seen in the different treatment of the similar cases of Philocrates and Aeschines.

<sup>2</sup> Hyper. Eux. §§ 29, 30.

<sup>3</sup> Dem. XIX. 114: *εἰ μὴ μόνον ὁμολογῇ παρ' ὑμῖν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ πολλάκις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐδείκνυνεν ὑμῖν, πυροπωλῶν, οἰκοδομῶν, ... ξυληγῶν, τὸ χρυσίον καταλλαττόμενος φανερώς ἐπὶ ταῖς τραπέζαις*. Gold coins in Athens were generally foreign.

<sup>4</sup> Aesch. II. 6, III. 79, 81; Dinarch. I. 28.

<sup>5</sup> Dem. XIX. 116—118.

3. This triumphant success inspired Demosthenes with new hopes for his own suit against Aeschines. This came to trial after mid-summer in 334 B.C. when Demosthenes and Aeschines delivered their speeches *περὶ τῆς παραπροσβείας*. The court probably consisted of 1501 judges; and the Logistae presided, as the case still belonged to the *εὐθυναί* of the second embassy, for which Aeschines was still *ὑπεύθυνος*. Demosthenes brings his accusation under five heads, covering the five points on which an ambassador should be called to account at his *εὐθυναί*. These are (1) *ὧν ἀπήγγειλε*, (2) *ὧν ἐπεισε*, (3) *ὧν προσετάξετε αὐτῷ*, (4) *τῶν χρόνων*, (5) *εἰ ἀδωροδοκῆτως ἢ μὴ* (or *τοῦ προῖκα ἢ μὴ*). In his elaborate argument he strives to prove that Aeschines (1) made a false report, (2) advocated pernicious measures on the ground of his report, (3) disobeyed his instructions, (4) wasted his time, (5) acted corruptly, being bribed by Philip<sup>1</sup>. The argument on these five heads occupies §§ 17—178, the remainder of the oration being chiefly given to general arguments tending to show the corruption of Aeschines and his collusion with Philip<sup>2</sup>.

4. The reply of Aeschines, though eloquent and effective in certain passages, is weak and trifling as an answer to the powerful argument of Demosthenes. Though he denies some special statements, perhaps successfully, he says nothing which breaks the force of the main argument against himself. In cases in which we have other evidence, we sometimes find his most solemn assertions false or misleading<sup>3</sup>. He answers the grave charge of falsely reporting Philip's intentions by saying that he "only made a report and promised nothing<sup>4</sup>." He replies to the charge of joining Philip in the paeans and other rejoicings over the destruction of the Phocians by saying that, though he was present, he was only one of two hundred, and that Demosthenes (who was not present) has no evidence whether he sang with the chorus or not<sup>5</sup>!

<sup>1</sup> Dem. XIX. 4—8, 177—179.

<sup>2</sup> See, for example, the argument in 106—110.

<sup>3</sup> See Hist. § 28.

<sup>4</sup> Aesch. II. 119. The best that Aeschines could say on this subject thirteen years later is seen in III. 79—83.

<sup>5</sup> II. 162, 163: e.g. *καὶ τῷ γε δῆλος ἦν, εἰ μὴ γε ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς χοροῖς προῆδον*;

5. He brought before the court his aged father, his two little children, and his two brothers, to excite pity<sup>1</sup>; and he finally called on Eubulus, Phocion, and other influential men to come forward as his supporters<sup>2</sup>. Eubulus addressed the court in his behalf, and probably urged prudential reasons for acquitting Aeschines. It might easily be thought by cautious men that the recent sacrifice of Philocrates was as much as it was safe to demand under the circumstances; and this, added to the influence of men like Eubulus and Phocion, probably saved Aeschines from conviction. We are told merely that he was acquitted by only thirty votes<sup>3</sup>; and this was no triumph—indeed, no justification—for a man in his position.

## V.

### *The Constitution of the Amphictyonic Council.*

1. Aeschines (II. 116) gives eleven of the twelve tribes which formed the Amphictyonic Council as follows: Thessalians, Boeotians ("not merely Thebans"), Dorians, Ionians, Perrhaebians, Magnesians, Locrians, Oetaeans, Phthiotians (i.e. the Achaeans of Phthiotis), Malians, Phocians. He professes to give twelve names, and it is generally assumed that the Dolopians are accidentally omitted. An important inscription recently discovered at Delphi seems to me to show clearly that the Delphians are the omitted people. Bourguet, in the *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, 1896, p. 241, gives from this inscription a list of the Council at the time of Alexander. This has the Thessalians, "King Alexander," Delphians, Dorians, Ionians, Perrhaebians (with Dolopians), Boeotians, Locrians, Achaeans (i.e. of Phthiotis), Magnesians, Aenianians, and Malians, each with two delegates. King Alexander now holds the two Phocian votes; the Aenianians represent the Oetaeans, of whom they were an important tribe; the Dolopians are included with the Perrhaebians; and the Delphians, who are constantly mentioned in the Delphic inscriptions relating to

<sup>1</sup> Aesch. II. 179, 180.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 184.

<sup>3</sup> Vit. x. Orat. 840 c: ἐφ' ἧ (πρεσβείᾳ) κατηγορηθεὶς ὑπὸ Δημοσθένους, ... συνειπρόντος αὐτῷ Εὐβούλου, ... τριάκοντα ψήφοις ἀπέφυγεν.

the Council, are added. If we add the Delphians to the list of Aeschines, the two lists substantially agree.

2. Each of the twelve tribes had two votes in the Council, given by delegates called *ἱερομνήμονες*, two of whom were sent by each Amphictyonic tribe. But the Dorians, Ionians, and Locrians were geographically divided, so that each of two divisions had a single Hieromnemon with a single vote. Thus the two Dorian votes might be divided between the Spartans (with other Dorians of Peloponnesus) and the ancient Dorian Tetrapolis, near Parnassus; the Ionian votes between the Athenians and the other Ionians (in Euboea and Asia Minor); the Locrian votes between the Eastern and Western Locrians. Aeschines explains that each tribe had the same representation with two equal votes. The Hieromnemon of Athens was chosen each year by lot: see Arist. Nub. 623, λαχὼν Ὑπέρβολος τῆτες ἱερομνημονεῖν.

3. Besides the twenty-four Hieromnemones, certain towns sent another class of delegates, called *πυλάγοροι*, who appear to have had the right to speak, but not to vote, in certain meetings of the Council. They represented the towns which sent them, not the tribe as a whole. Athens sent three, chosen by the people apparently for each Amphictyonic meeting. The meeting at which Aeschines made his inflammatory harangue, which stirred up the Amphissian War, appears to have been one of the *ἱερομνήμονες* exclusively, which Aeschines, as a *πυλάγορος*, attended by special invitation of the Hieromnemon and only as his representative, but with all his rights. See Hist. § 59.

## VI.

### *The Hero Physician and the Hero Καλαμίτης.*

1. In Demosthenes xix. 249 the father of Aeschines is said to have kept a school near the shrine of the Hero Physician (πρὸς τῷ τοῦ Ἡρώ τοῦ ἰατροῦ); and in Cor. 129 his mother is said to have lived a shameful life near the shrine of the Hero Καλαμίτης (πρὸς τῷ Καλαμίτῃ ἥρωϊ), while his father is said to have been the slave of a schoolmaster near the Theseum (πρὸς τῷ Θησεΐῳ διδάσκοντι γράμματα). Many scholars identify the two heroes, though on slight evidence. If the Hero

Physician was called Καλαμίτης, this name might mean *bowman* (or *irrow-man*) from κάλαμος, in the sense of *arrow*, like δολίτης from ὄπλον.

2. Reiske recognized in the Hero Physician the Scythian Toxaris, of whom Lucian gives a pleasant account in his Σκύθης ἢ Πρόξενος. Toxaris, according to Lucian, came to Athens in the time of Solon, by whom he was kindly received. He was a physician and a man of general cultivation, though not of high rank at home. When his countryman, Anacharsis, came to Athens, he was recognized and welcomed by Toxaris, who introduced him to Solon. Toxaris died and was buried in Athens. When the plague was raging in the Peloponnesian War, the wife of an Areopagite reported that Toxaris came forth from his tomb and told her that the plague would cease if the narrow streets of the city were freely sprinkled with wine. This was done, and the plague disappeared. The tomb was examined, and the remains of Toxaris were found within, which were identified by a mutilated inscription, and also by the figure of a Scythian sculptured on the gravestone, having in his left hand a strung bow and in his right what *appeared to be a book* (βιβλίον, ὡς ἐδόκει). Lucian says that more than half of the figure was to be seen in his time, with the bow and the book entire. The upper part of the stone with the face was gone. The monument, he says, was not far from the gate Dipylum, on the left of the road leading to the Academy: the stone was lying flat on the ground. On account of his wonderful skill in stopping the horrors of the plague, Toxaris was made a hero and worshipped as the "Hero Physician." He had a shrine within the city walls; and his tomb was always decked with wreaths, and miraculous cures were wrought there.

3. It happens that in the excavations outside the Dipylum gate at Athens a figure was found (now in the Museum at Athens) which in many respects agrees wonderfully with Lucian's description. It represents a headless crouching Scythian, in his native dress, who had once held a bow in his left hand (the opening through which the bow passed still remains); while under the left arm and held by the right hand is what, when viewed in front, appears to be a writing tablet but from the side is seen to be a pointed quiver. The chief point in which this figure fails to agree with Lucian's description is that Lucian calls the monument a στήλη, while this is a statue. This

might be explained by the figure lying flat on the ground, as Lucian describes it; and it must have been flat on its back, or the pointed quiver could never have been mistaken for a book. If it was covered by earth that only the front and the two hands, with the bow and the apparent book, were visible, it would have been a natural mistake to call it a *στήλη*. Indeed, any further exposure of the figure would at once have made the quiver visible. I therefore think there is sufficient evidence to identify this figure with the one seen by Lucian or his informant. See note on Cor. § 129<sup>6</sup>.



Figure of Scythian Bowman.

## VII.

*The Manuscripts of the Oration on the Crown.*

1. The chief of all the MSS. of Demosthenes, the basis of the present text, is  $\Sigma$  or S, of the tenth century, written on parchment, no. 2934 of the Greek MSS. of the National Library of Paris. On its last leaf is written, in a hand of a later period, *Βιβλίον μονῆς τῶν Σωσάνδρων*, showing that it once belonged to a society of monks named after Sosander, who is not otherwise known. The manuscript first appears in Europe in the possession of Janos Lascaris, a learned Greek, who left Constantinople after the Turkish capture and was in high favour with Lorenzo de' Medici at Florence. Lascaris was twice sent by Lorenzo to Greece and the neighbouring lands in search of manuscripts for the Medicean library. How rich a store he brought back to Florence may be seen from the curious manuscript now in the Vatican library, which was published by K. K. Müller in the *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* for 1884. This contains a wonderful list of 300 or 400 books which were "bought" for Lorenzo by Lascaris, and also a *πίναξ τῶν βιβλίων τοῦ Λασκάρως, ἃ περ ἔχει παρ' ἐαυτοῦ*. Among the latter we find *Δημοσθένης, περγαμηνόν*. The same volume probably appears in a list of the books of Lascaris made after his death at Rome in 1535. Here we find *Δημοσθένης, παλαιός*, no. 34 (corrected to 35). In the catalogue of the books of Cardinal Ridolfi, who is said to have acquired the books of Lascaris after his death, we find "35. *Δημοσθένους λόγοι ξβ'*," evidently the same book.

Ridolfi's manuscripts after his death came into the possession of Queen Catherine de' Medici. The title "Demosthenis Orationes" appears in a catalogue of the Queen's library, in the inventory of her goods after her death in 1589, and again in 1597 in the list of her books which had passed into the Royal library. The Codex  $\Sigma$  still has a splendid binding of red leather, bearing the united arms of France and Navarre and monograms of Henry IV., with the date 1602. From this time it appears in the various catalogues of the Royal library, until it was entered in the catalogue of 1740 with its present number 2934. We are therefore safe in assuming that  $\Sigma$  is one of the

manuscripts which Lascaris, as the envoy of the Medici, brought to Florence from Greek lands at about the time of Lorenzo's death in 1492; and it may have come from Mount Athos, as Dindorf asserted.

The manuscript is written with great care, in large square upright minuscules, which mark the transition from the uncial to the cursive text. It is unquestionably by far the best manuscript of Demosthenes, and with its recently discovered companion L it forms a distinct class, which preserves a purer and older text than any others. The passages are few in which  $\Sigma$  and  $L^1$  are not decisive against all other mss.

The photographic facsimile of  $\Sigma$  has brought this precious document within the reach of scholars in all parts of the world. This, with the reproductions of the Medicean Aeschylus, the Laurentian Sophocles, and the Bodleian Plato, is a special boon to American scholars.

2. L (Vömel's Laur. S), the new companion of  $\Sigma$ , is in the Laurentian Library at Florence (LVI. 9, no. 136). It is written by various hands. It contains orations VI., VII., VIII., IX., X., XI., XXII., XXIV., all written in the 13th century (with some parts of IX. and X. wanting), followed by XX., XVIII., XIX., in another hand of the same century, and further by XXIII. in another of the same age, and by XII. in a later hand. Orations I., II., and III., and the missing parts of IX. and X., are added by a much later hand. The older parts, as originally written ( $L^1$ ), generally have the same purer form of the text which is in  $\Sigma$ ; but, though the two mss. have a common archetype, L was not copied from  $\Sigma$  or descended from it. The second hand of L ( $L^2$ ) generally agrees with the class represented by F and B. One interesting bond of union between the first hands of  $\Sigma$  and L is that both omit the same disputed passages in the Third Philippic.

3. A 1, Augustanus primus, formerly at Augsburg (whence its name), now no. 485 in the Royal Library at Munich, on parchment, of the 11th century, is generally reckoned as next in rank to  $\Sigma$  and  $L^1$ . It is the chief basis of the text current before Bekker's study of  $\Sigma$ , the text as established by Reiske. It represents a text far below that of  $\Sigma$  and L in purity, and much corrected by grammarians.

4. A 2, Augustanus secundus, formerly at Augsburg, now in the Munich Library, is a paper manuscript of the 15th century. It has little distinctive character of its own.

5. F (or M) and  $\Phi$  (or Q) of the 11th century, in St Mark's library in Venice, and B (or Bav.), Bavaricus, in Munich, of the 13th century

represent the Vulgate text emended by the help of MSS. of the better class. B closely follows F, and is either copied from it or of a common origin with it.

Other MSS. are now of less account, since the supremacy of  $\Sigma$  has been established<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> A more detailed account of the important MSS. containing the Oration on the Crown will be found in the larger edition.



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